All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.

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shown.	cept where otherwise 101 of the	U.S. FOREIGN	
	UNITED	INTELLIGENCE STATES SURVEILLANCE COURT	Ī.,
Classify By: J2 Reason: (C) Derived From Declassify On:	FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE FBI NSICG, dated 10-2016	LEEAM FLYNN HALL CLERK OF COURT	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	(3) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.	Docket Number:	
	PERSON.		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	(U) VERIFIED	APPLICATION	
	(%) The United States of America he	reby applies to this Court for authorit	y to
	conduct	as described herein, pursu	ant
	to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act	of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United	00 1
	States Code (U.S.C.), §§	(FISA or the Act).	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3,
	1. (U) Identity of Federal Officer	Making Application This application	n is
	made by a Supervisor	y Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal	
	Bureau of Investigation (FBI) whose officia	l duties at FBI Headquarters include	b1-1 b3-1
	supervision of the FBI's investigation of the	above-captioned target based upon	b6-1 b7A-1
	information officially furnished to		b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

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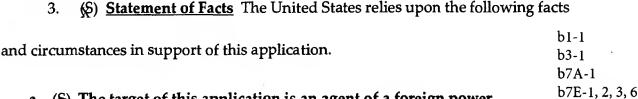
OI Tracking No. 143045

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2. **(S)** Identity of the Target The target of this application is Carter W.

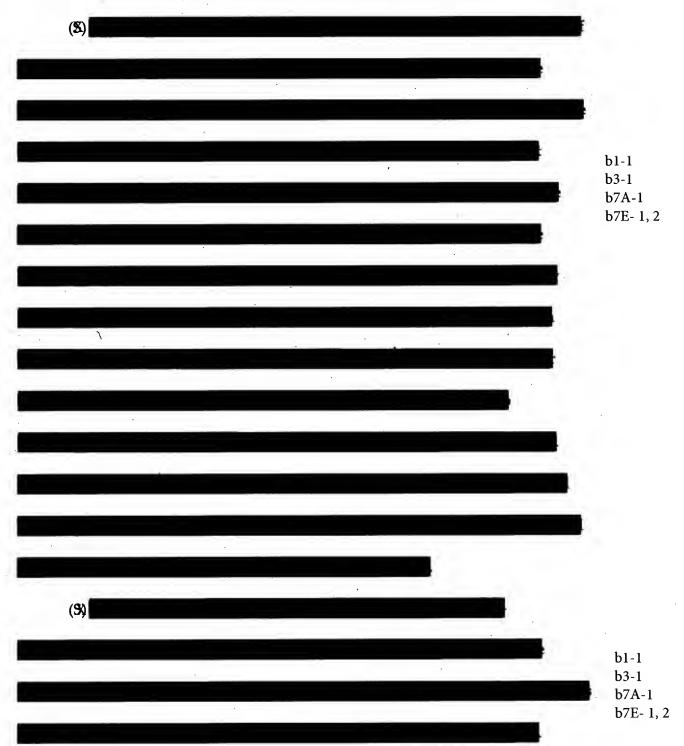
Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

provided by the U.S. Department of State.



- a. (§) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (S) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).
- (X) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the <u>Diplomatic List</u>, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

# (S) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation



	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2
(U) (S) Carter W. Page	
	b3-1
knowingly engage in	b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for	
or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to	
involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly	
conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an	
agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).	
(SMNE) This application targets Carter Page. The FBI believes Page has been	
the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	
	b1-1
undermine and influence the outcome of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election in	b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1
violation of IIS oriminal layer. Dago is a formage formion maline a later of	b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1).	

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	b7Λ
	U/A
	b7F
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# I. (U) (\$\forall /N\bar{k}) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can

bring to bear in the same effort."

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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2
(SANK): In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the Democratic National Committee (DNC).	
There has been speculation in U.S. media that the Russian Government was	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2, 3
behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack. Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was not	
responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public." Despite	
Russia's denial,	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
<sup>1</sup> (SX/NEX) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

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In addition, according to  $\begin{array}{c} b_{1-1} \\ b_{3-1} \end{array}$ 

b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3

an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures are intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement states that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities.

(XMME) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence

U.S. elections,

and

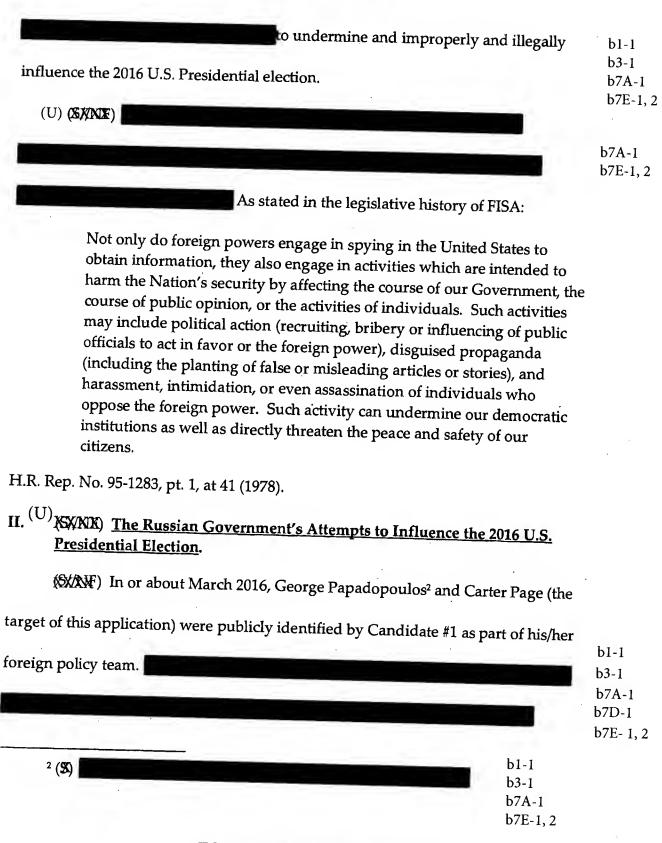
the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination with Carter Page

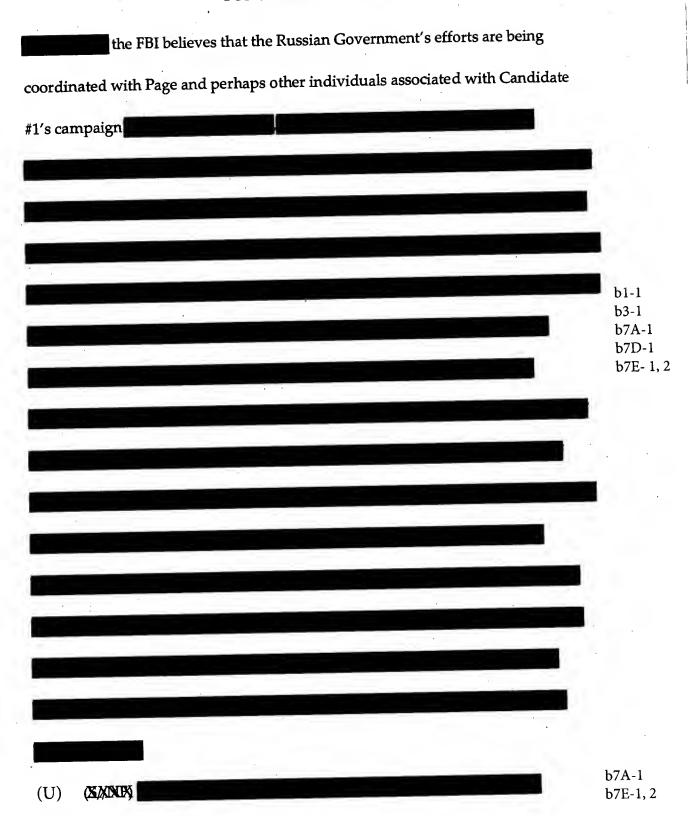
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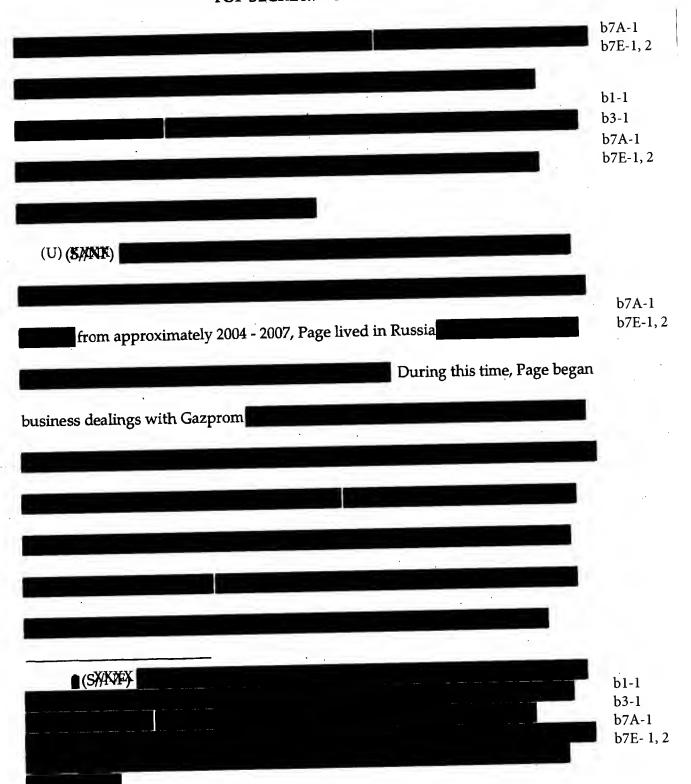
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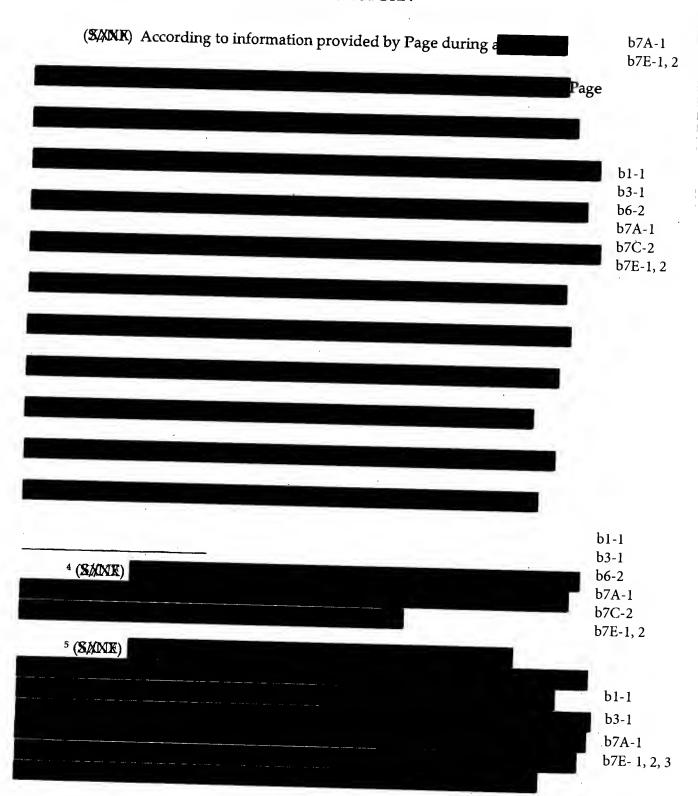
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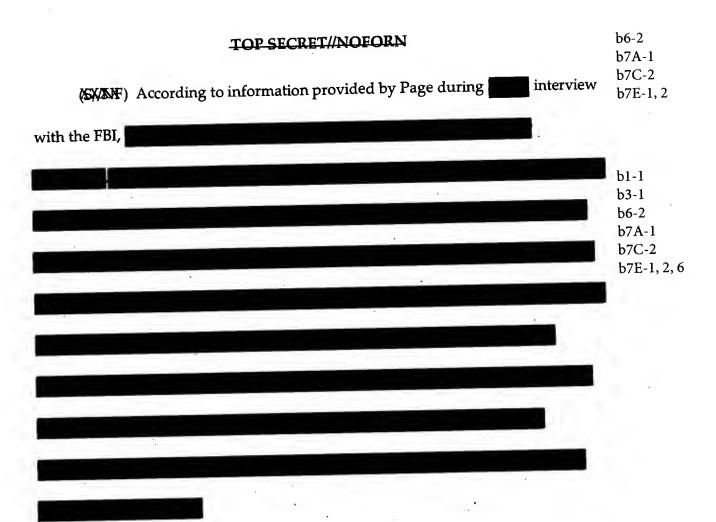




	b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1
As discussed below, Page has established relationships with Russian	b7E- 1, 2
Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	
III.(U)(%) Carter Page.	
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.	
(SXXXXF) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global	
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2
	·







and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government).

According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

Russia.<sup>6</sup> The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



<sup>(</sup>U) <sup>6</sup> (XANEX) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia, without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison.

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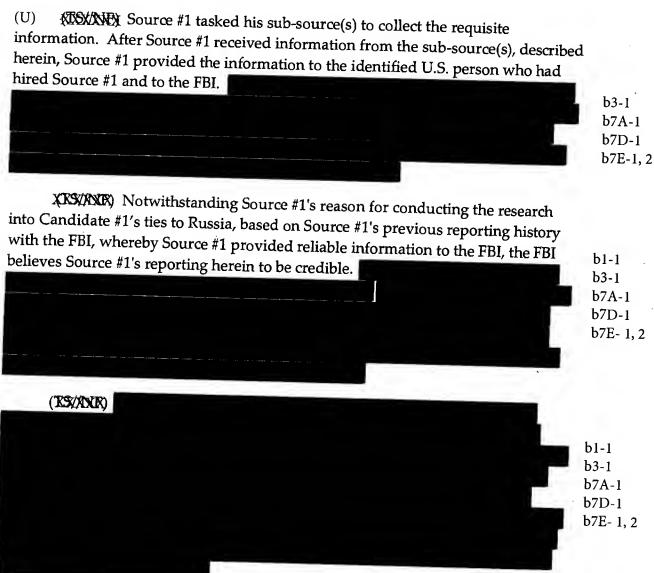
(U) B. (S/NK) Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016
U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.

XXXXXX) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to

Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School. <sup>7</sup> In	b1-1 b3-1
addition to giving this address, the FBI has learned that Page met with at least two	b7A-1 b7D-1
Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI	b7E- 1, 2
confidential human source (Source #1),8 reported that Page had a	
	b3-1
(U) ? ( <b>EANK</b> )	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 4
8 XXXXXX Source #1	b1-1
and has been an FBI source since	b3-1
Source #1's reporting has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings	b7A-1
and the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable. Source #1 has been compensated by the FBI and the FBI is unaware of any derogatory	b7E- 1, 2, 5
information pertaining to Source #1.	1

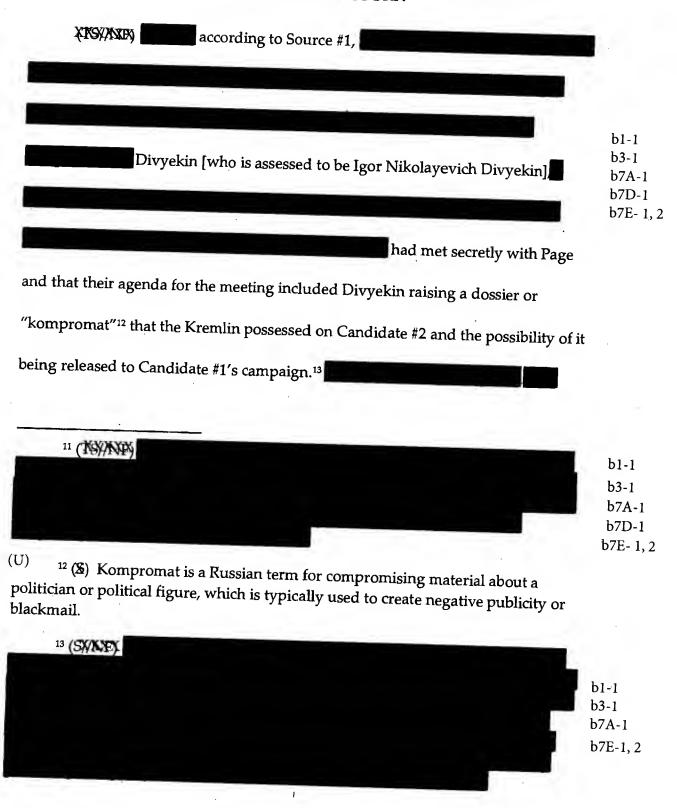
(TSX/ANE) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a

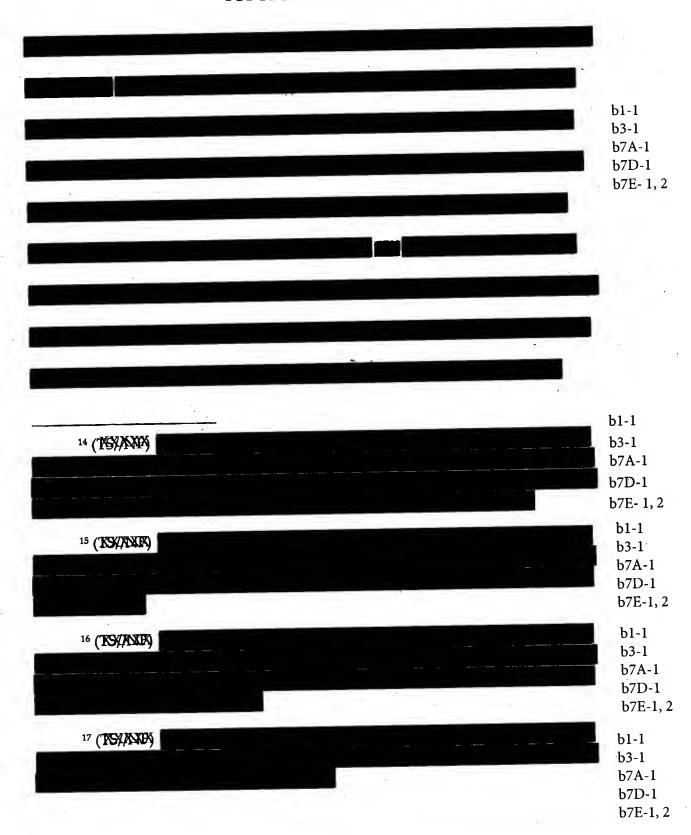
U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

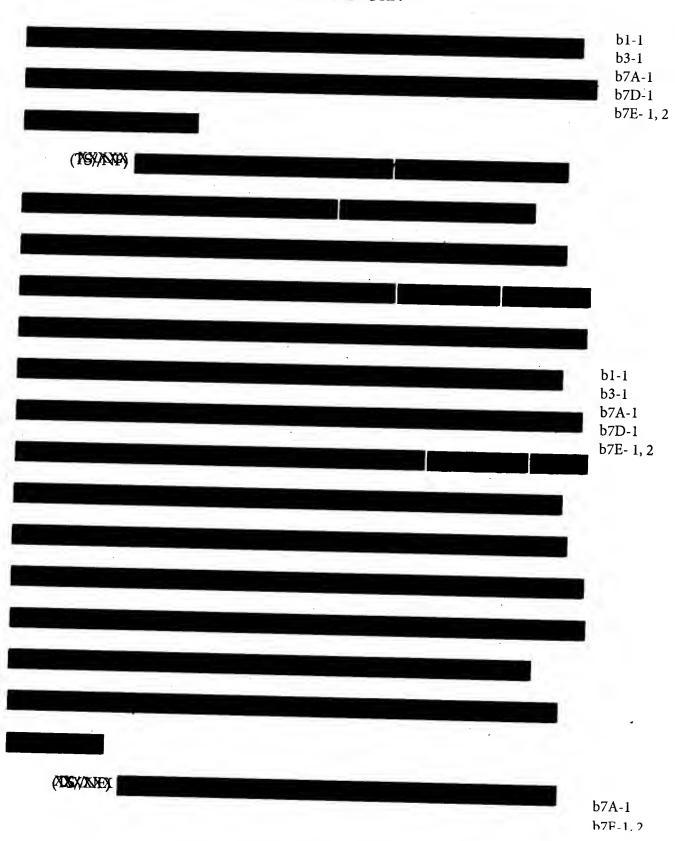


secret meeting with Igor Sechin, who is the President of Rosneft [a Russian energy company] and a close associate to Russian President Putin.10 b1-1 b3-1reported that, during the meeting, Page and Sechin discussed future bilateral energy b7A-1 b7D-1 cooperation and the prospects for an associated move to lift Ukraine-related Western b7E-1,2 sanctions against Russia. b7A-1 b7D-1 (U) (XISK/ANIE) b7E-1, 2 b1-1 9 (XSMNE) b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

(USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin – a key component to his current standing."





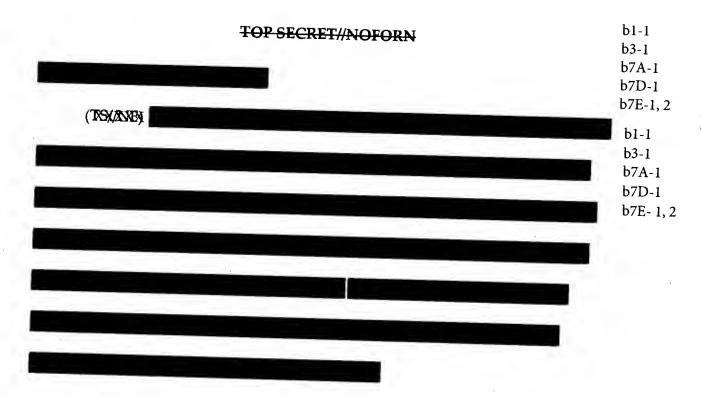


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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter Page.

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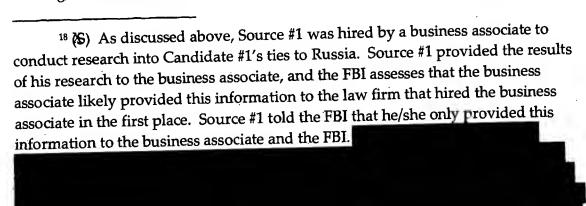
# IV.(U) (SWAX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government.

(U) (SANK) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former

Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page.

According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election. 

(U) (SWAND): According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports



The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the press.

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of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

(SX/NF) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as in other recent articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly has made public statements in an attempt to create the appearance of distance between Page and Candidate #1's campaign. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's current campaign manager (the September 25th News

Article). During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page is not part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page has been meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign . . . ."

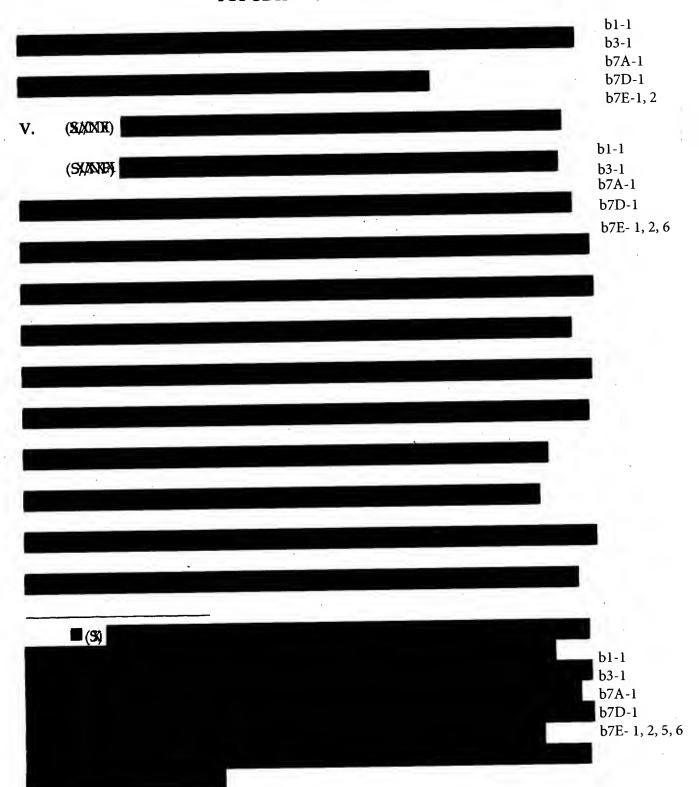
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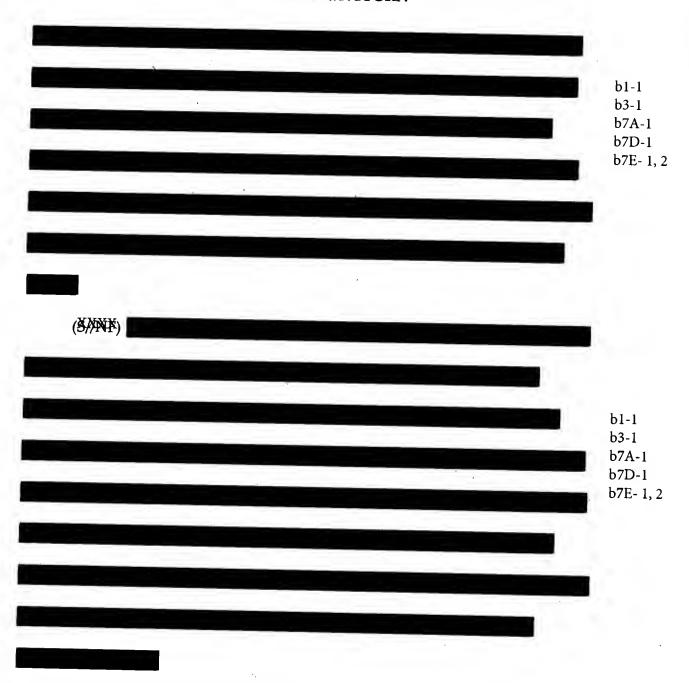
(U) (SANK) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations is nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet this year with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to

discuss any "final" questions the FBI may have. 19

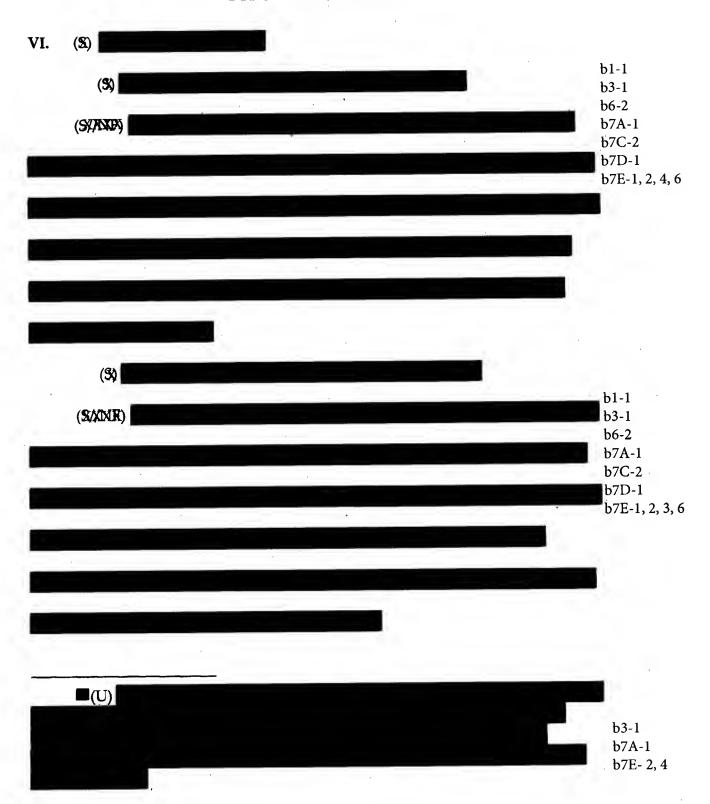
organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations are complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he would be taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations are a

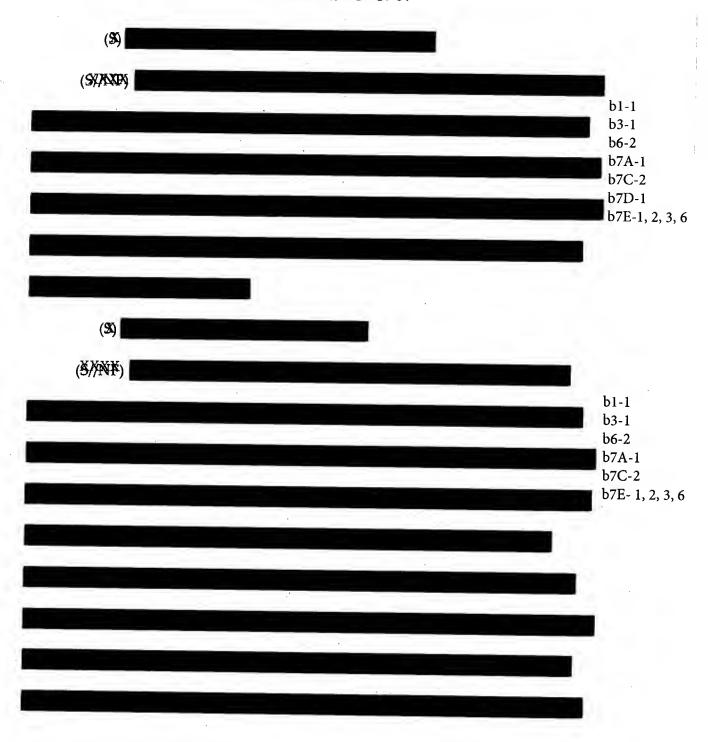


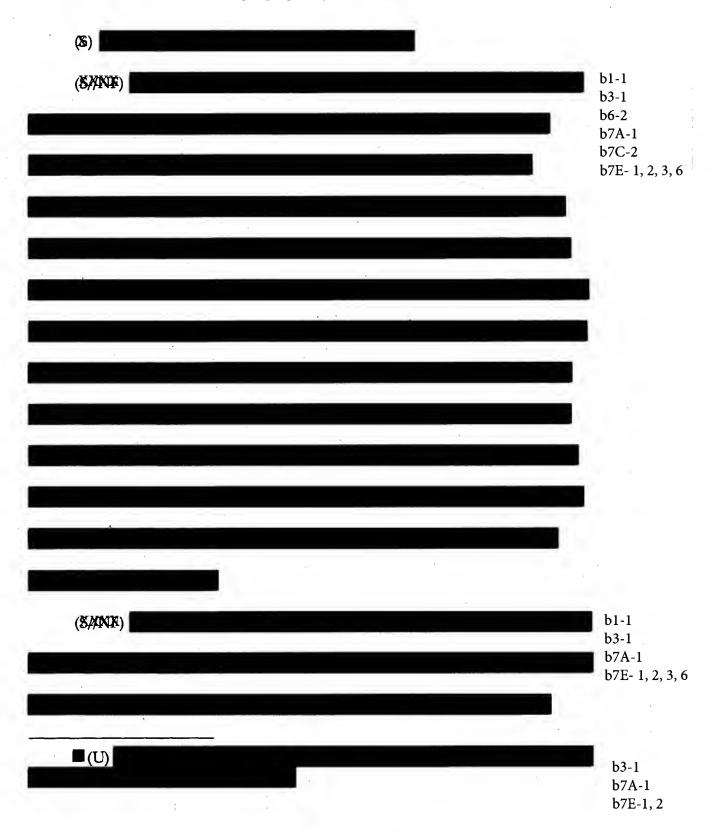


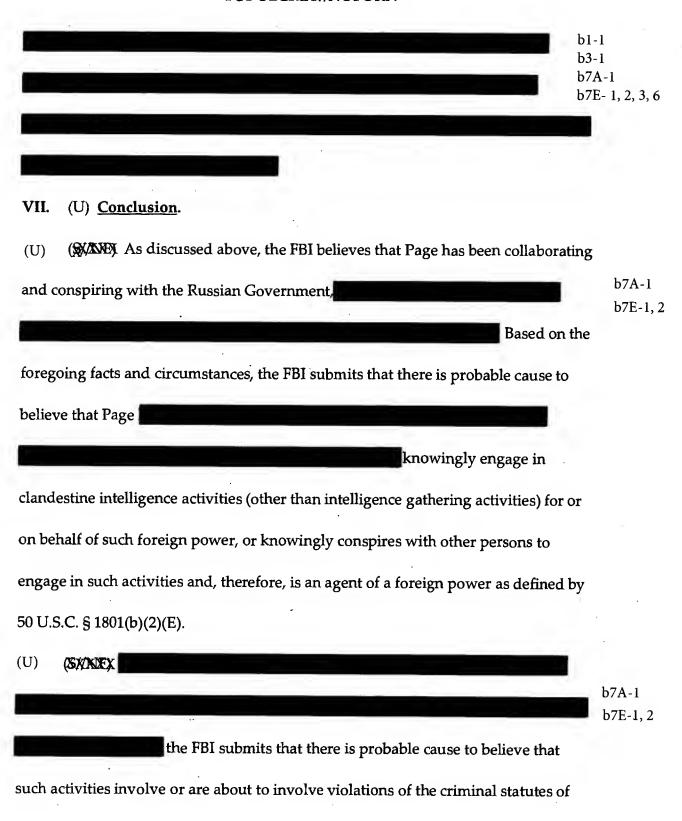


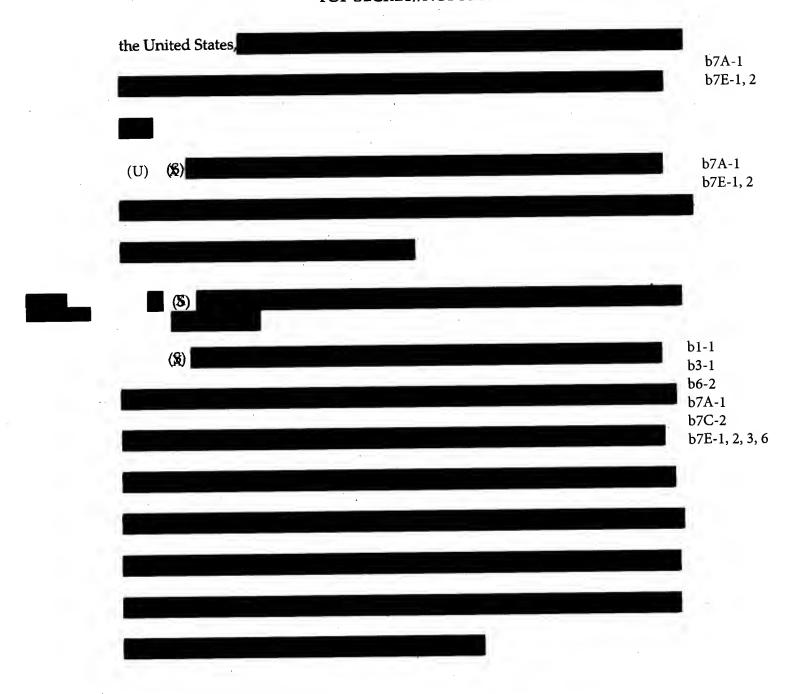
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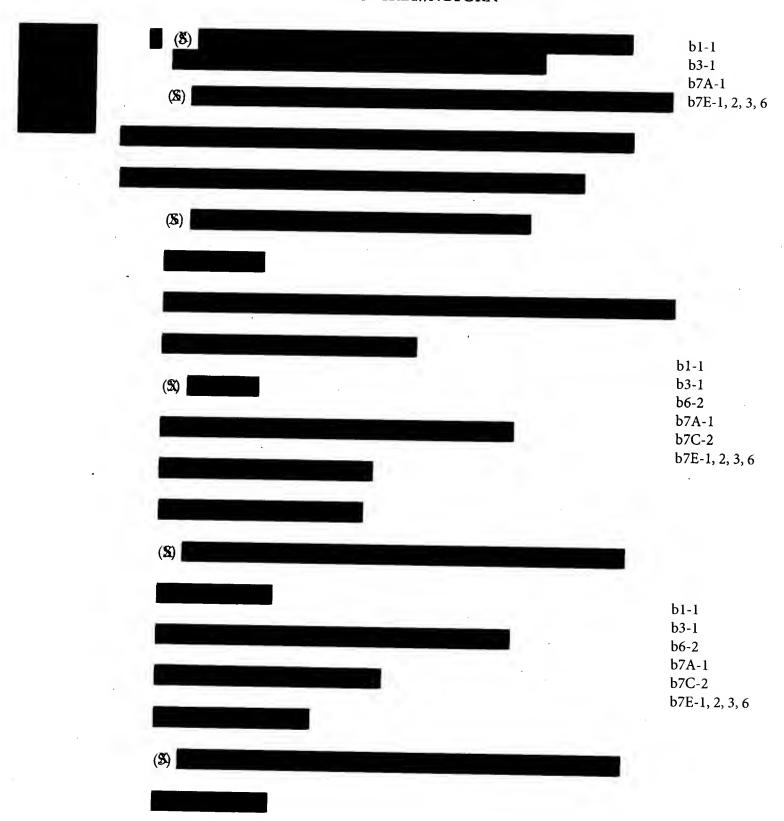




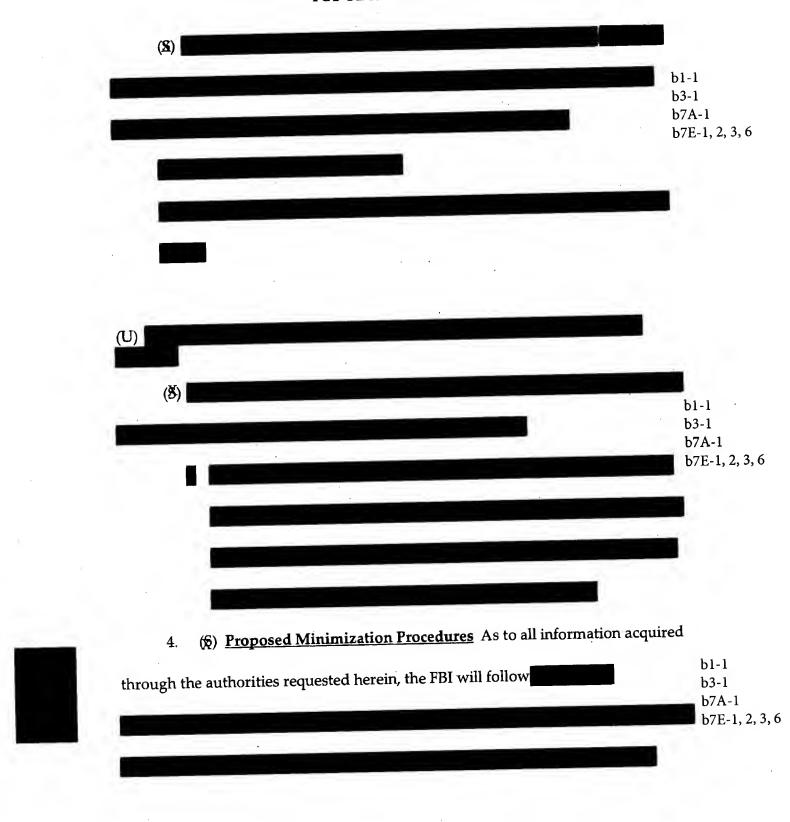


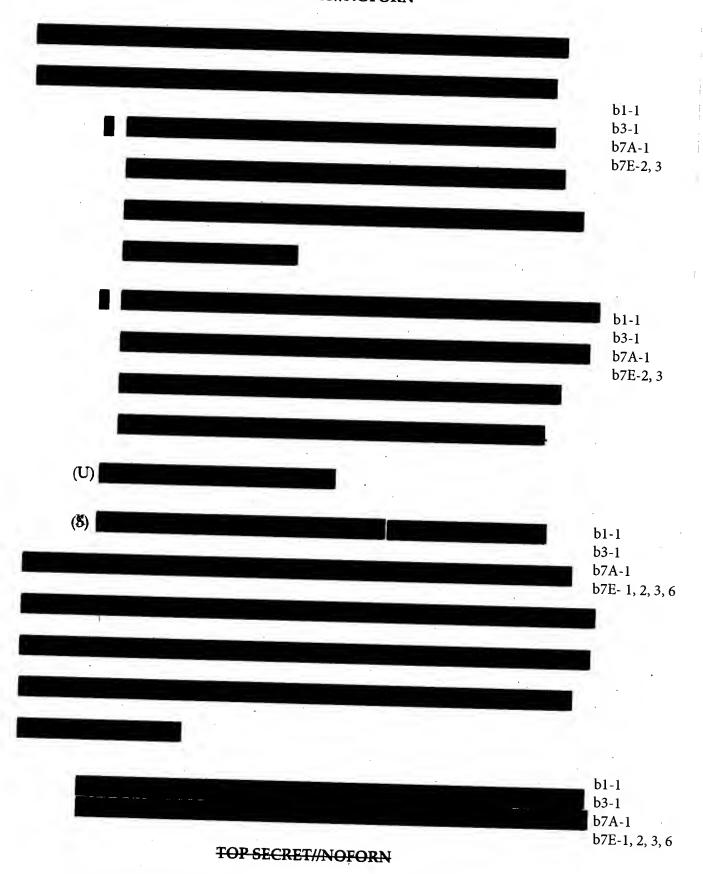


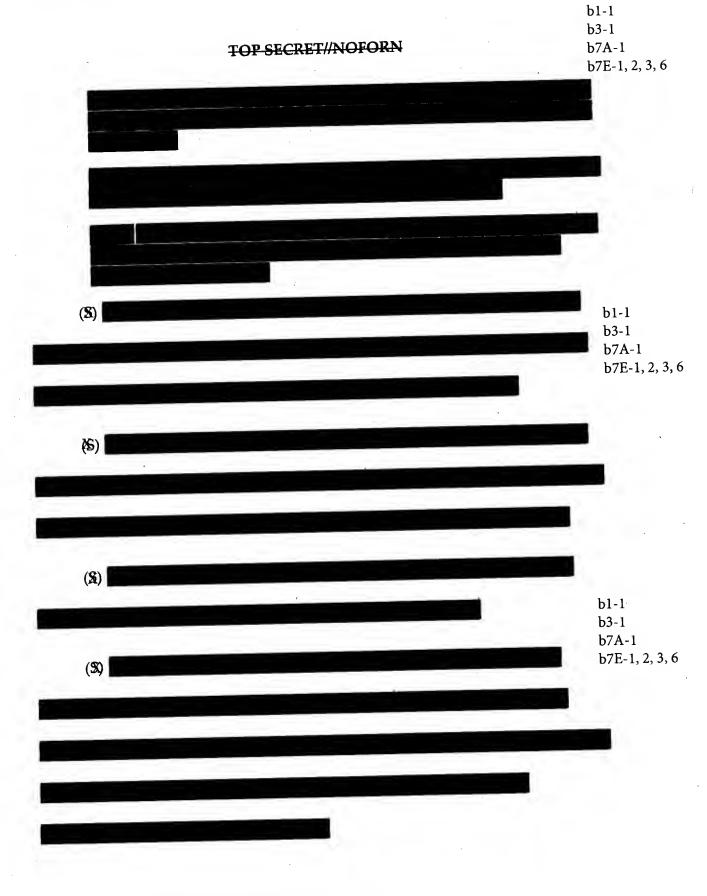








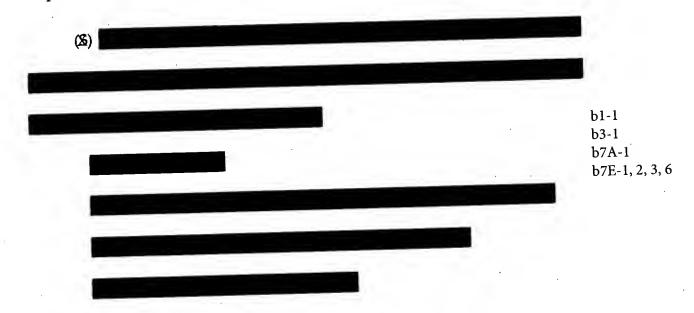


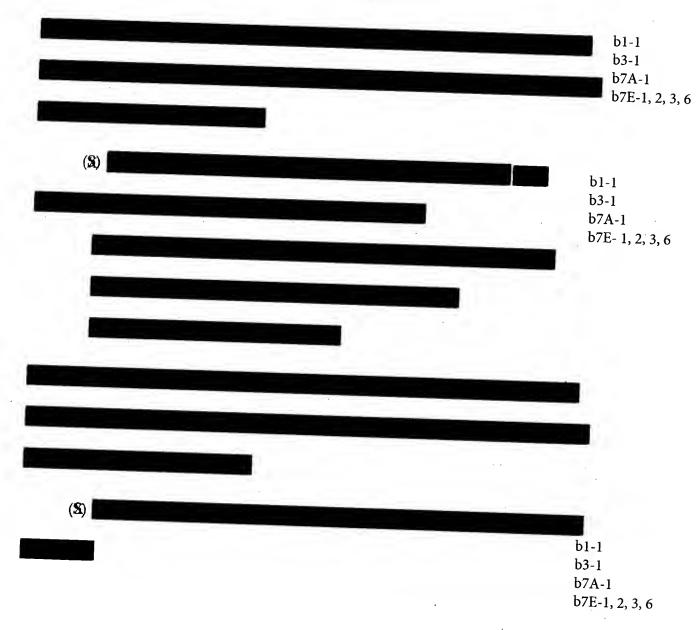


5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities

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requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with be respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.





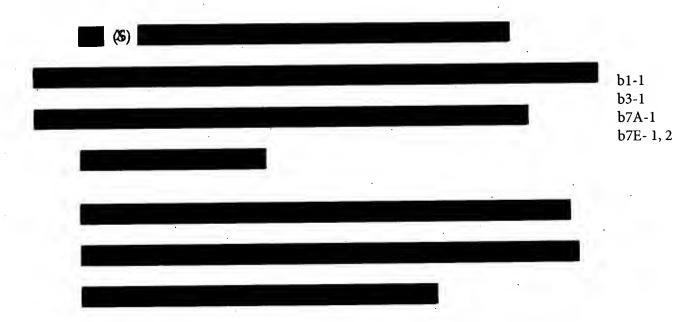
	al Security Affairs or an Executive branch official duly designated by the	b1-1 b3-1
Preside	nt as a certifying official in Executive Order Number	b7A-1 b7E-
	as amended, is set forth below.	07L-
Q	S)	
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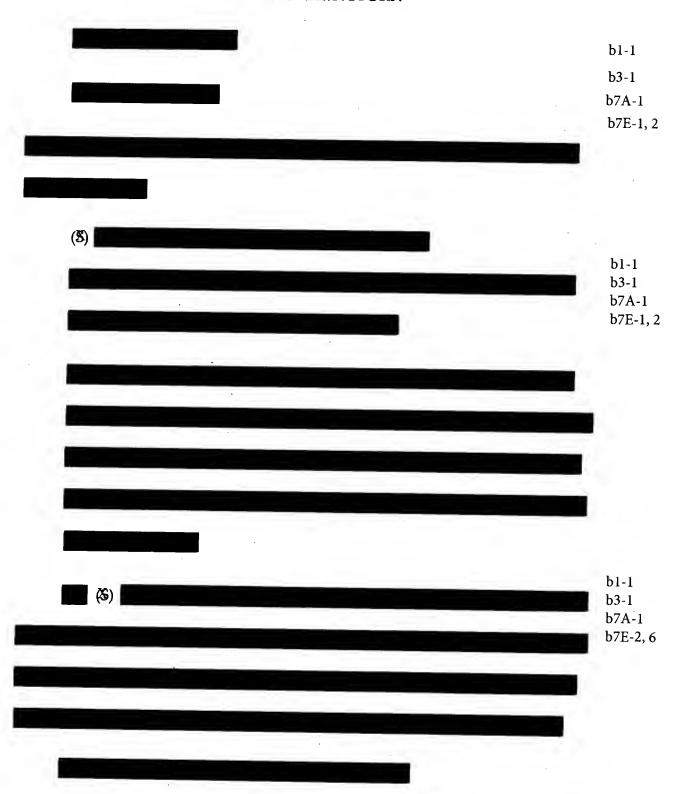
### (U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

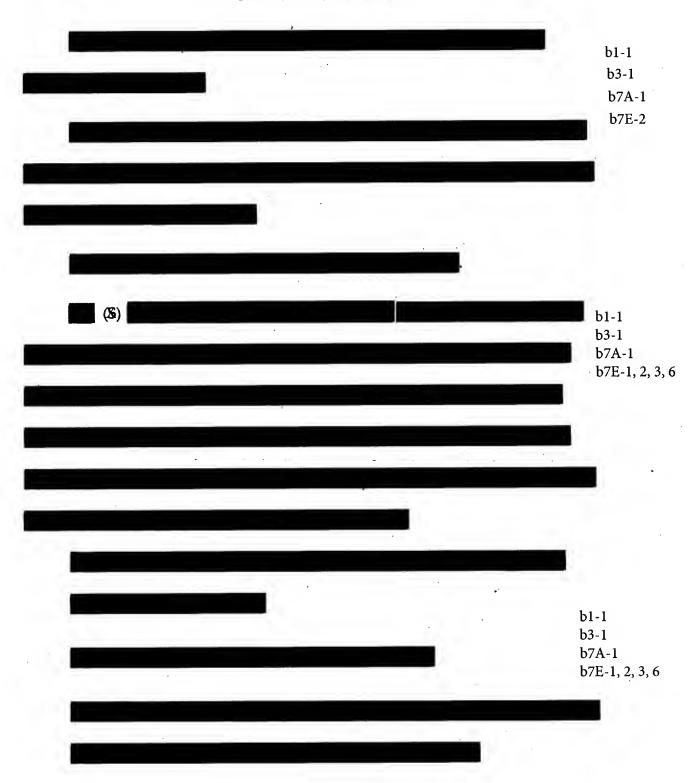
(\$) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual

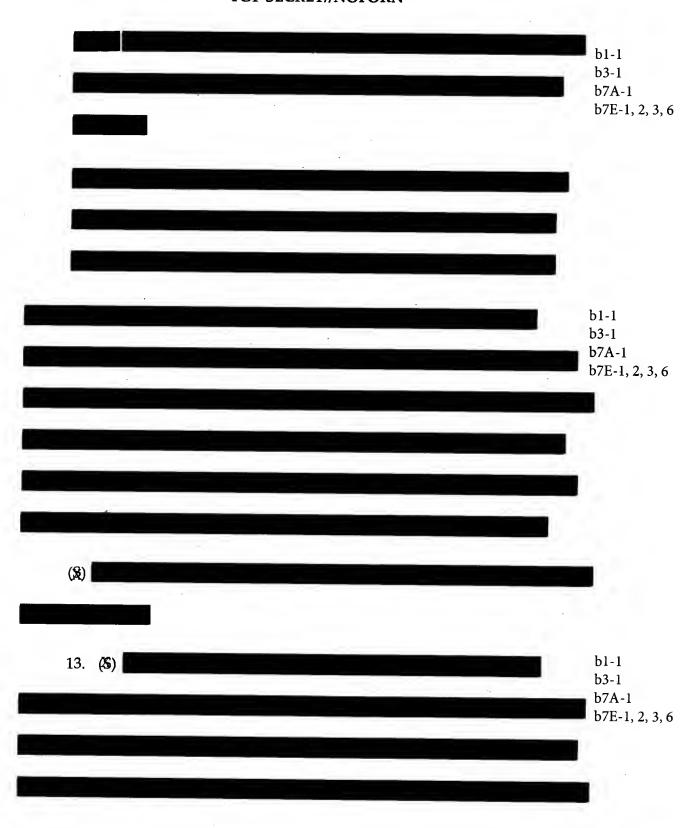
criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

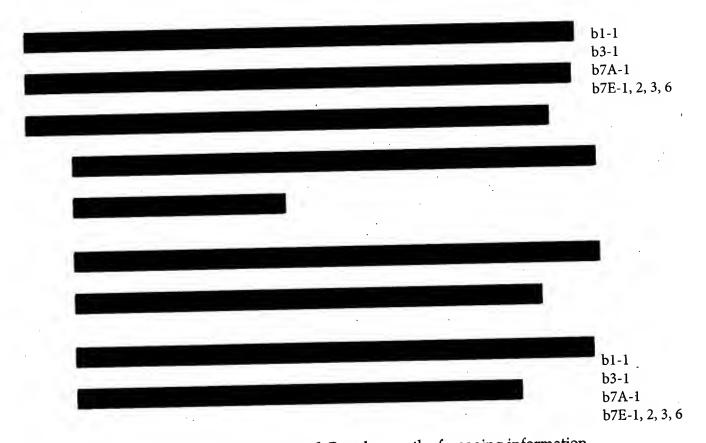
(See also, 9. b1-1 b3-1 The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended. Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.



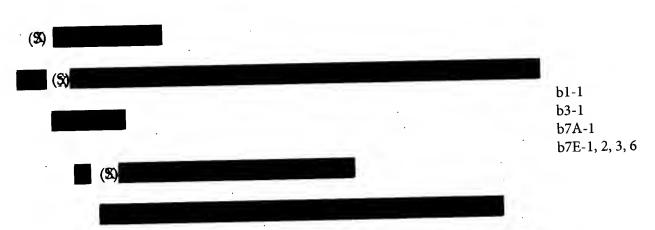




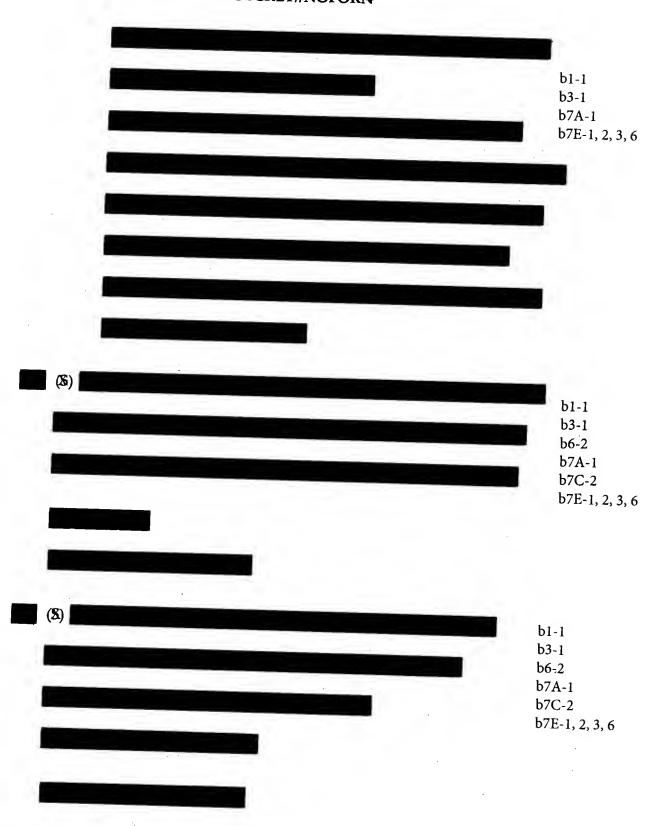


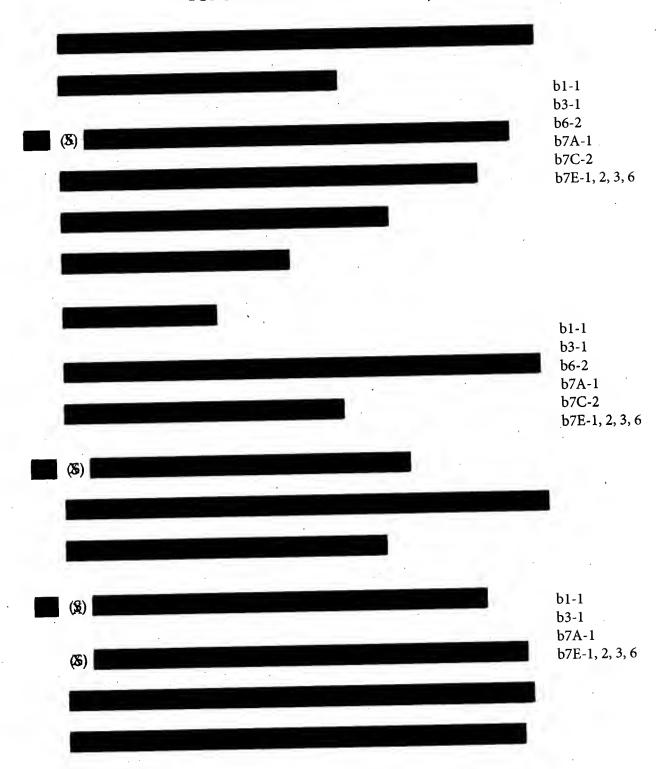


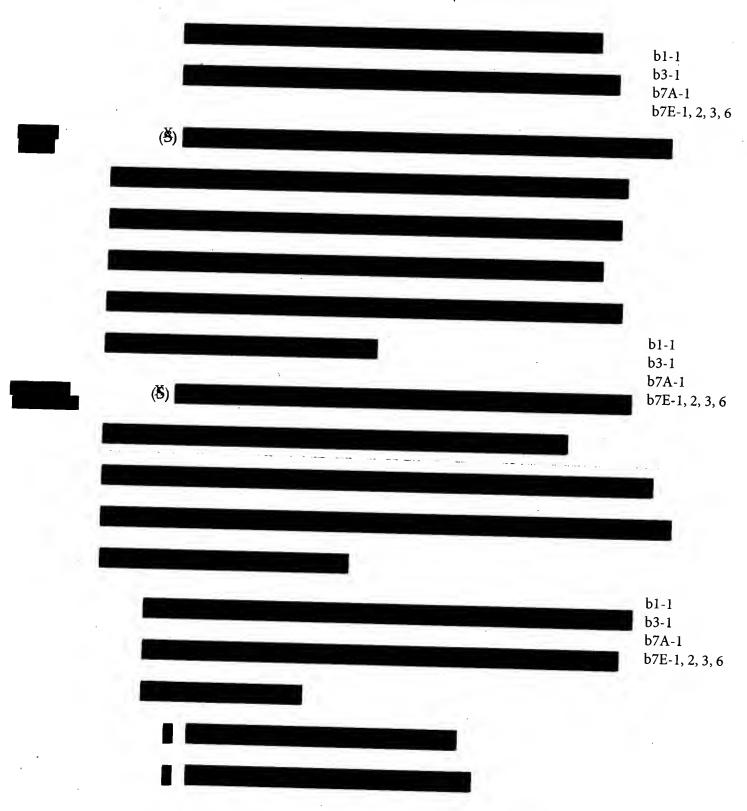
(U)(3) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

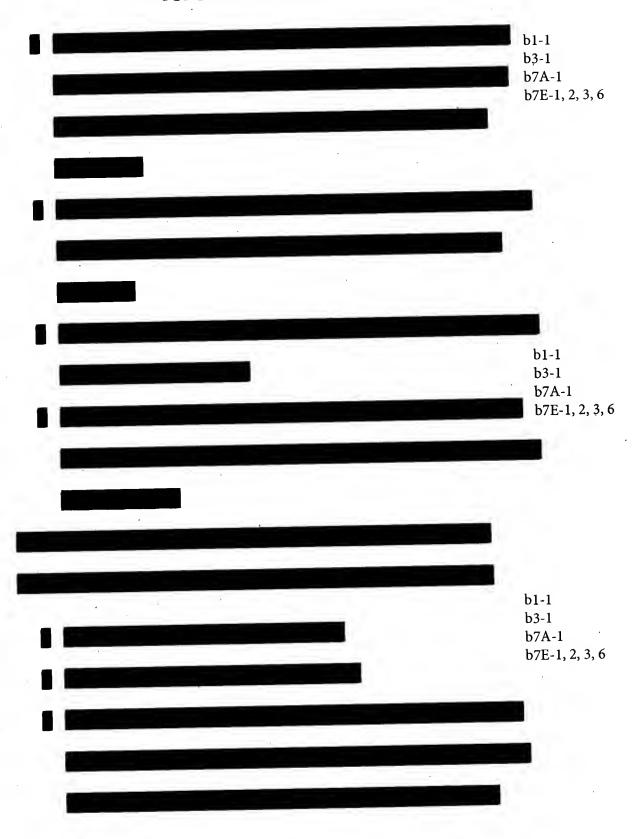


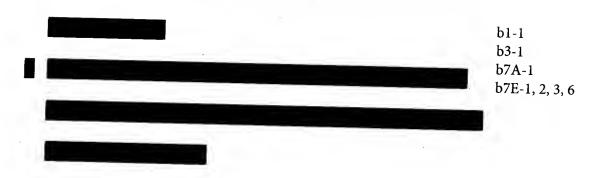
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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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-53-

## (U) VERIFICATION

(%) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United States Code, § 1746 on	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Supervisory Special Agent Federal Bureau of Investigation	b6-1 b7A-1 b7C-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

## (U) CERTIFICATION

(§) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the

requested in this verified application targeting

b1-1

b3-1 b7A-1

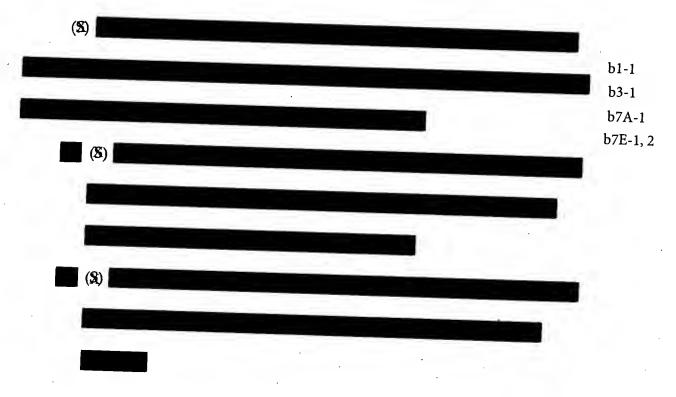
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

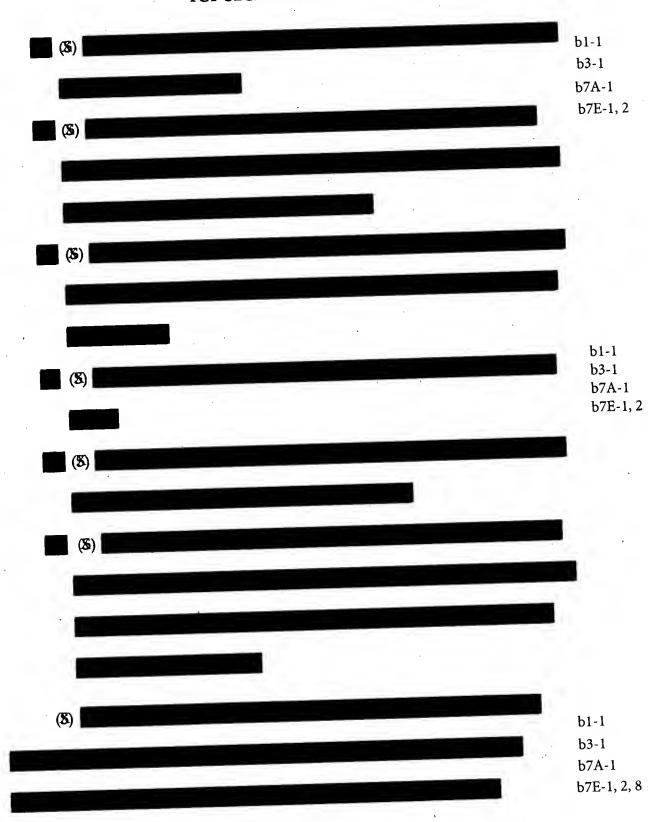
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

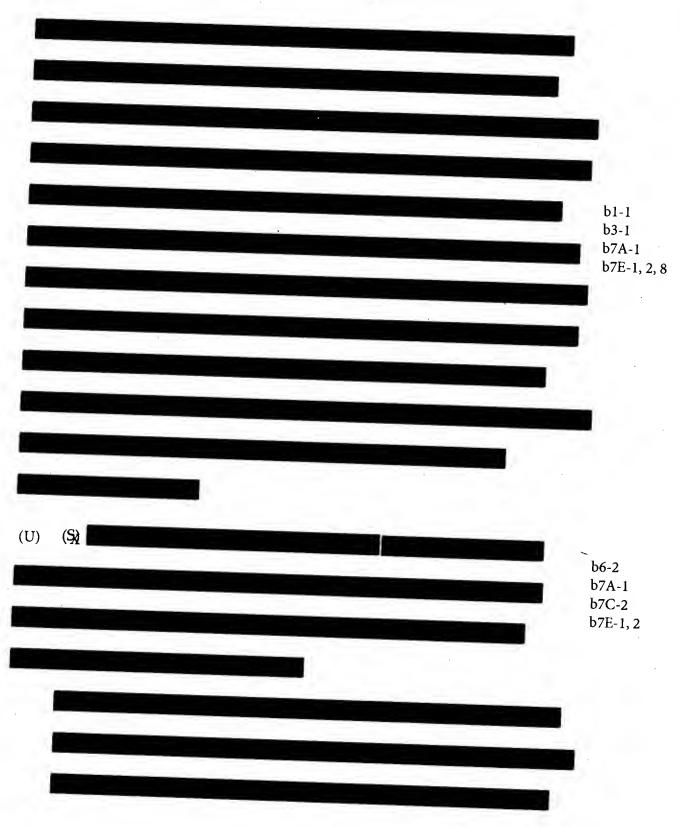
- (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities  $\begin{array}{c} b1-1 \\ b3-1 \\ \hline b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 \\ \end{array}$
- (D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

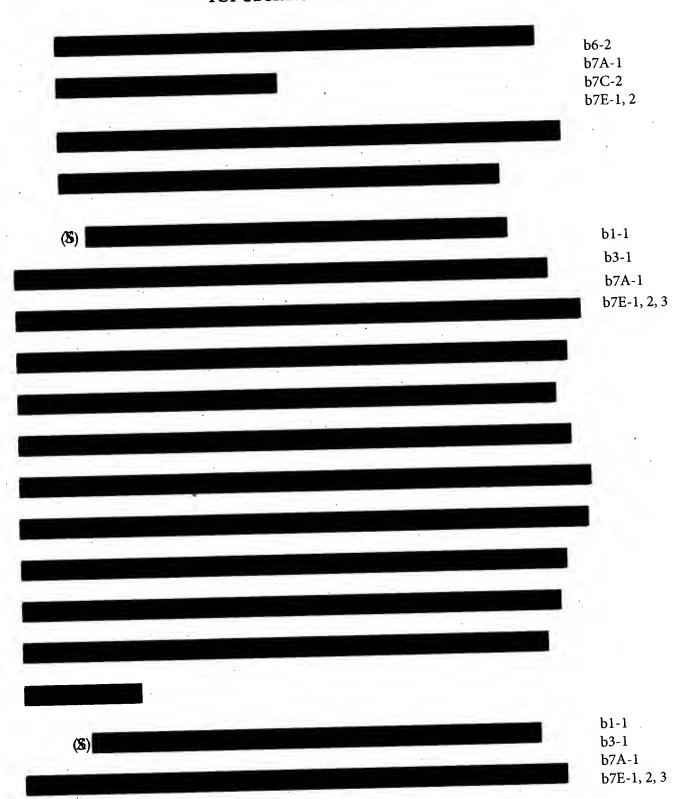
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

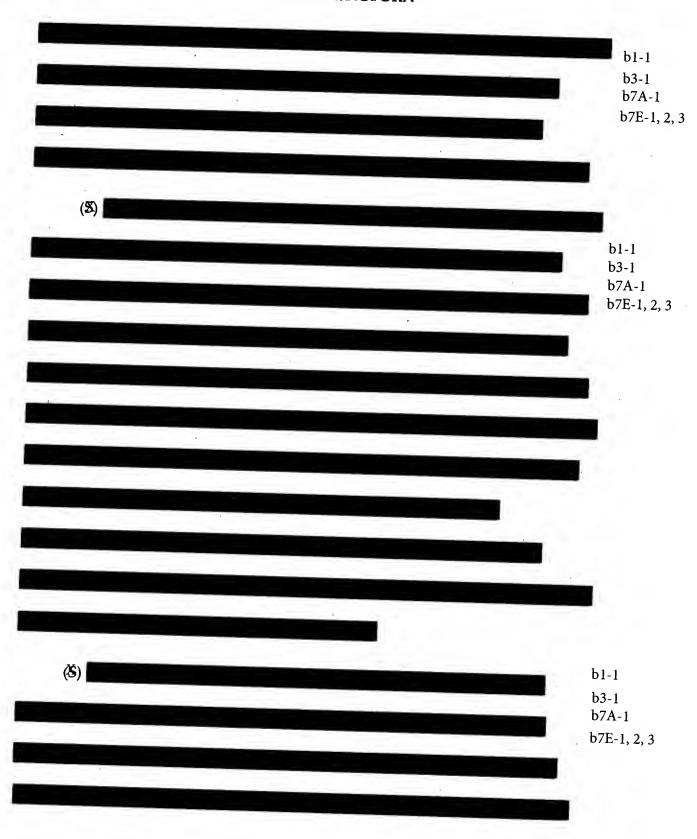
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b1-1 b3-1 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

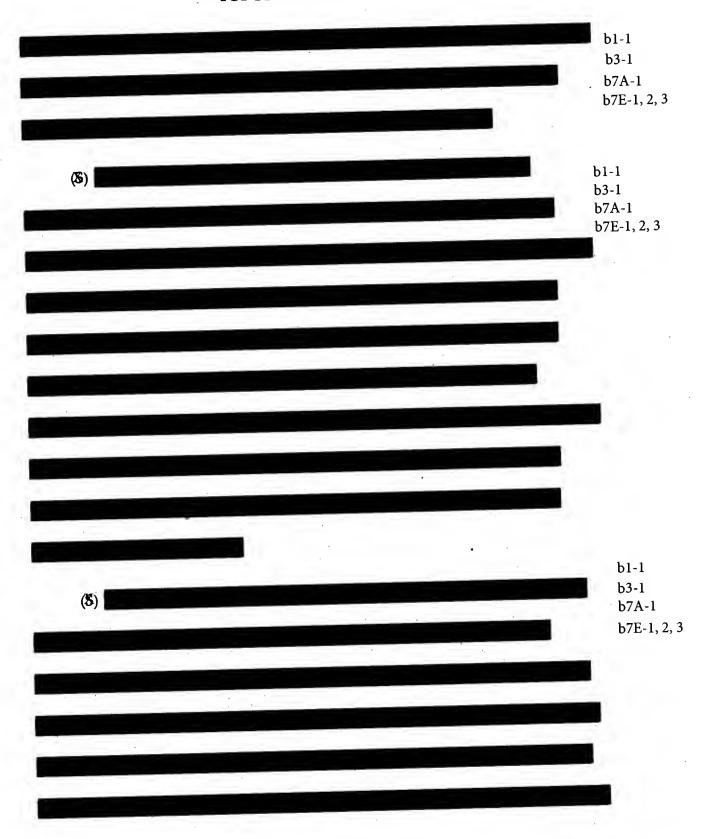




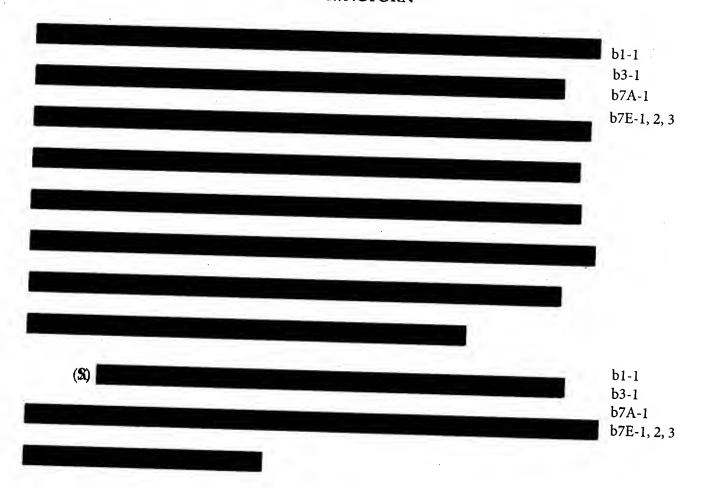








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(U) (S) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(S) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of

James B. Comey Director	John F. Kerry Secretary of State	
Federal Bureau of Investigation		
*		
Andrew G. McCabe	Antony J. Blinken	
Deputy Director	Deputy Secretary of State	•
Federal Bureau of Investigation		
John O. Brennan	Ash Carter	
Director of the Central	Secretary of Defense	
Intelligence Agency		
James R. Clapper, Jr.	Susan E. Rice	<del></del>
Director of National Intelligence	Assistant to the President for	
Director of Paulonia 2110—6	National Security Affairs	
Ct. whomis (VSullivan	-	
Stephanie O'Sullivan		
Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence		
National Intelligence		b1-1
		b3-1

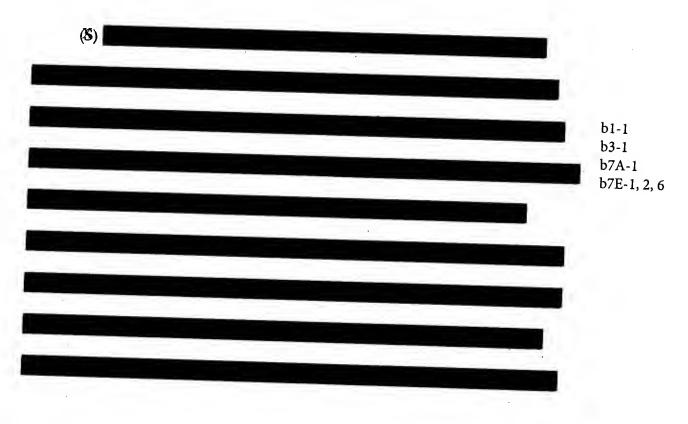
I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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-63-

### (U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



(S) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

. Page with the C	ourt,	b1-
		b3- b7.
		<b>b</b> 7]
	Loretta E. Lynch	
	Attorney General of the United States	
	Day O. Vares	
	Sally Quillian Yates	
	Deputy Attorney General of the United States	
	·	
		h1-1

10/ Date Assistant Attorney General for National Security

b3-1

b7A-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

(U) (§) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



b6-3 b7A-1

b7C-3

U.S. Department of Justice

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Olerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

2016

#### UNITED STATES

LeeAnn Flynn Hail, Clerk of Court

Classify By: J23J98T32

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

b1-1

Reason: (C)

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 10-2016

b3-1

Declassify On:

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7A-1

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

**PERSON** 

Docket Number:

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

# PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America

pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50

U.S.C. §§

ISA or the Act), for an order and warrant

(hereinafter "order") for

and full

consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds

as follows:

b1-1

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2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the Attorney General;

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

#### **SECRET**

Derived from:

Application to the USFISC

b1-1

in Docket Number captioned above

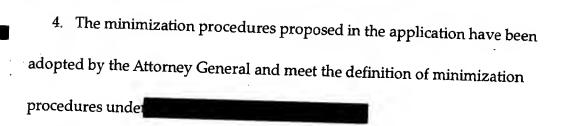
b3-1 b7A-1

Declassify on:

17-cv-597(FBI) - 67

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1
b7E-1, 2



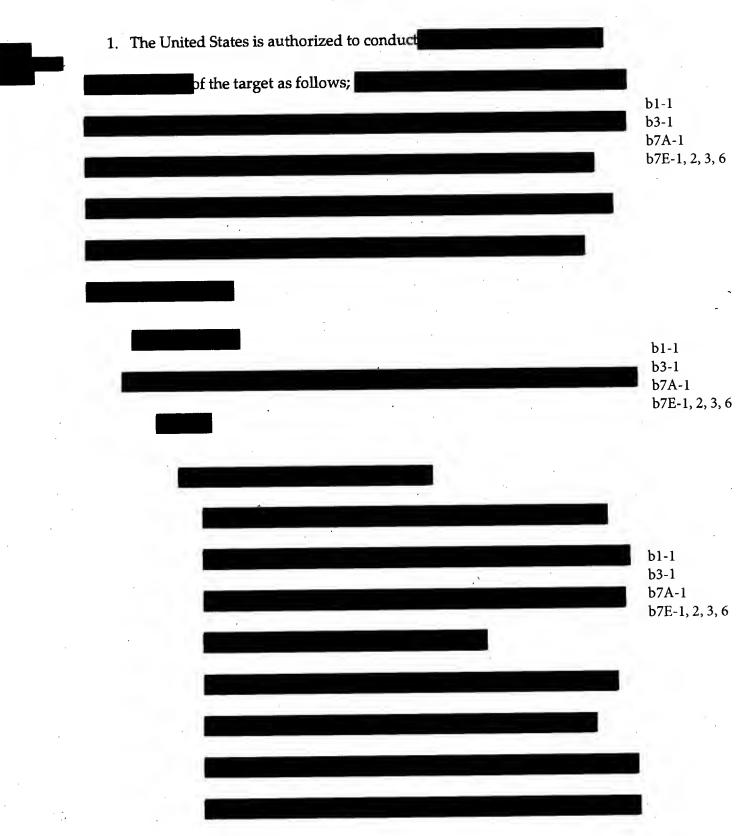
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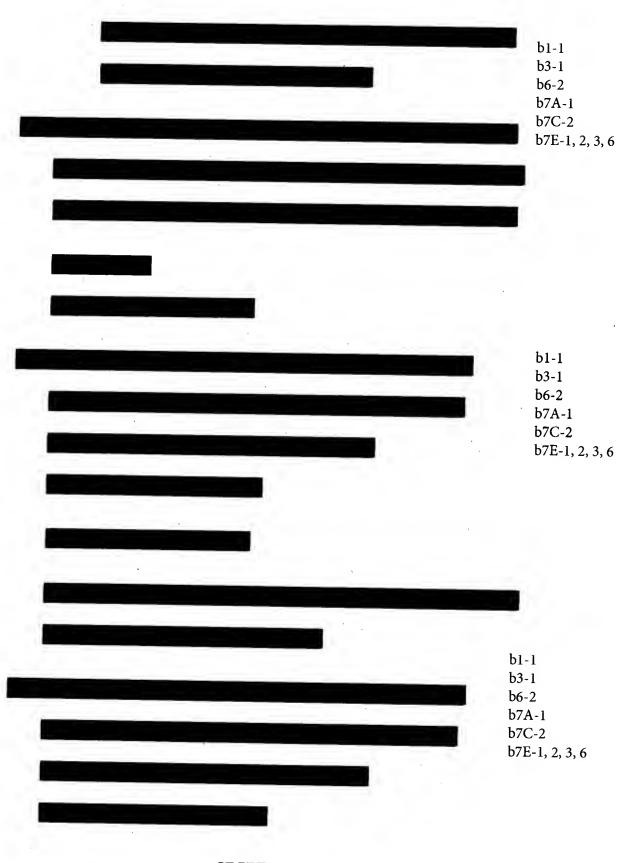
5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis of the statements made under the st

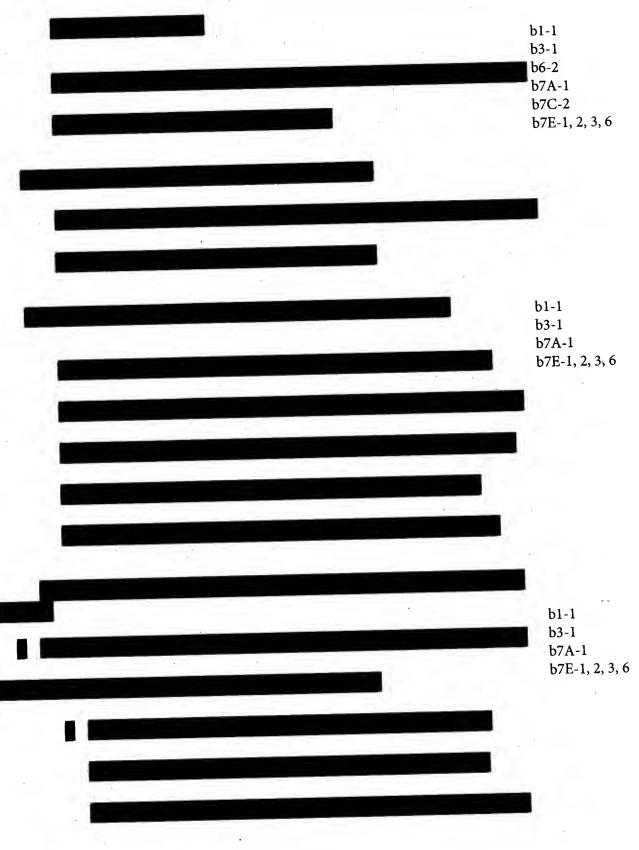
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:



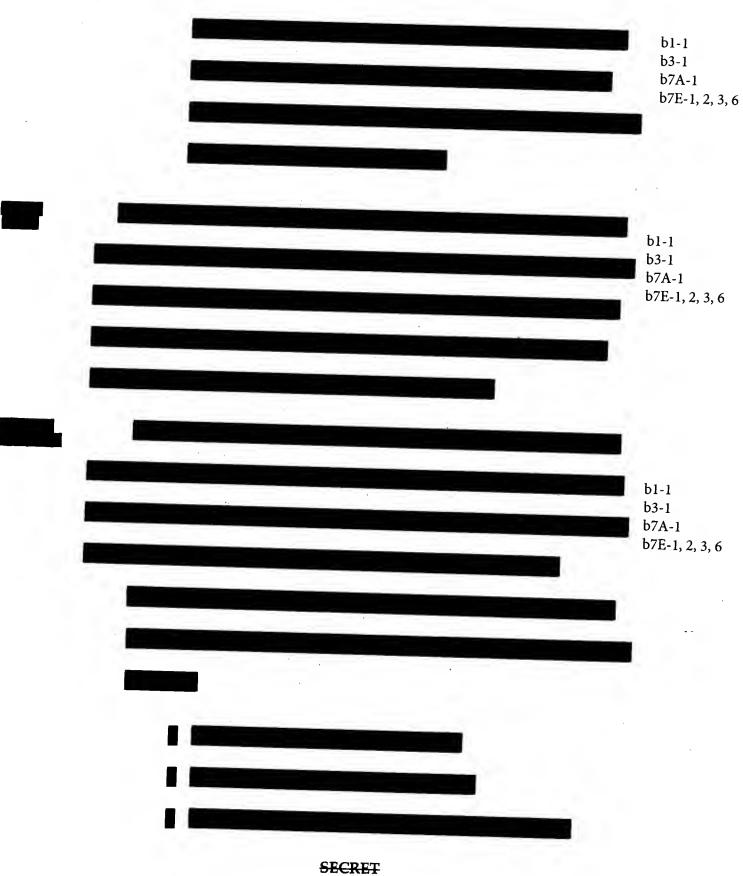


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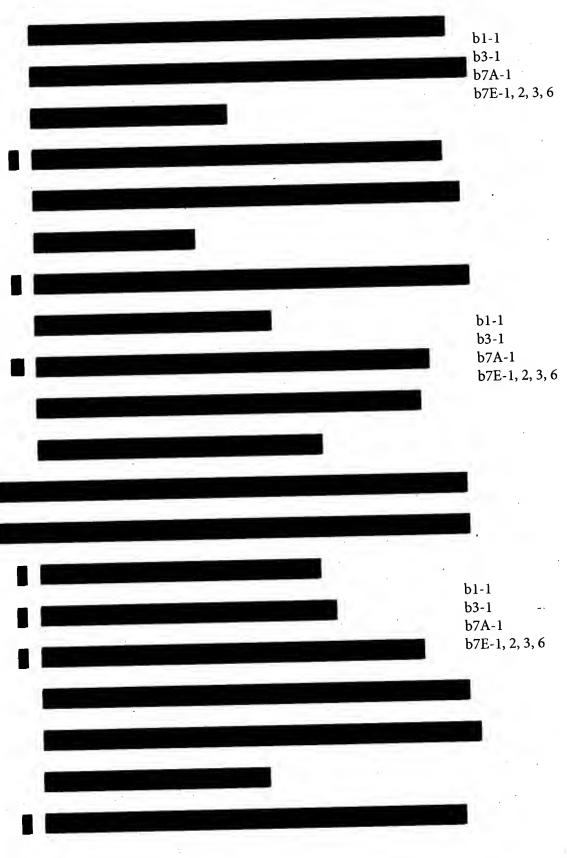


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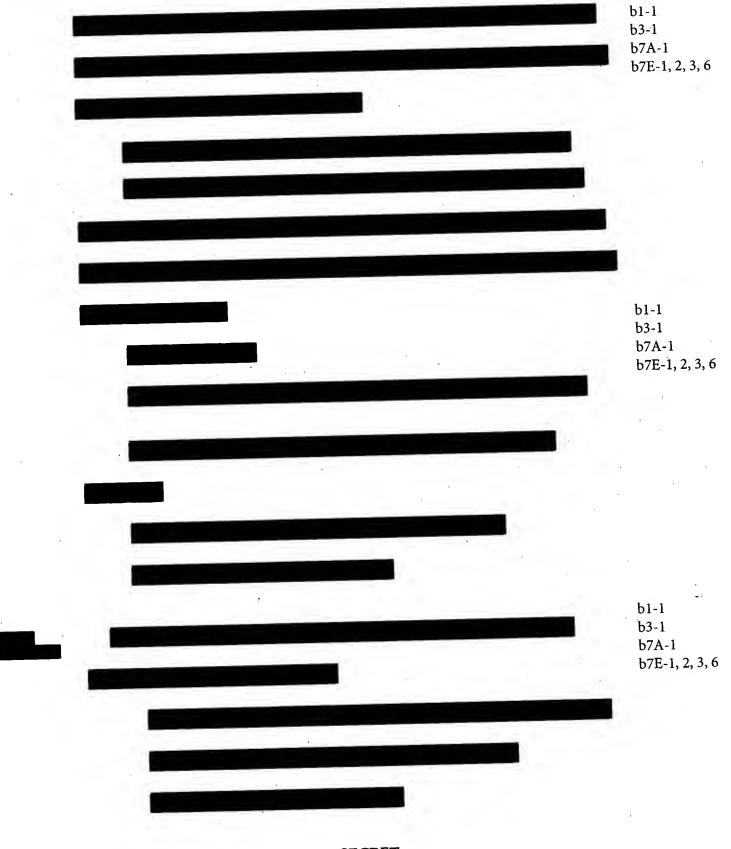


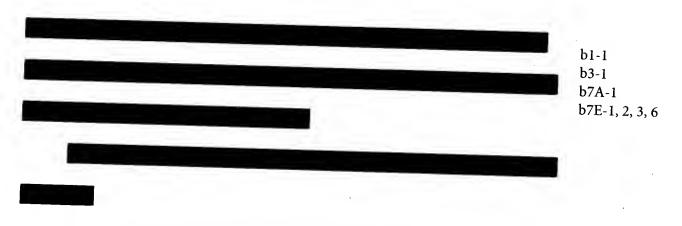


-6-









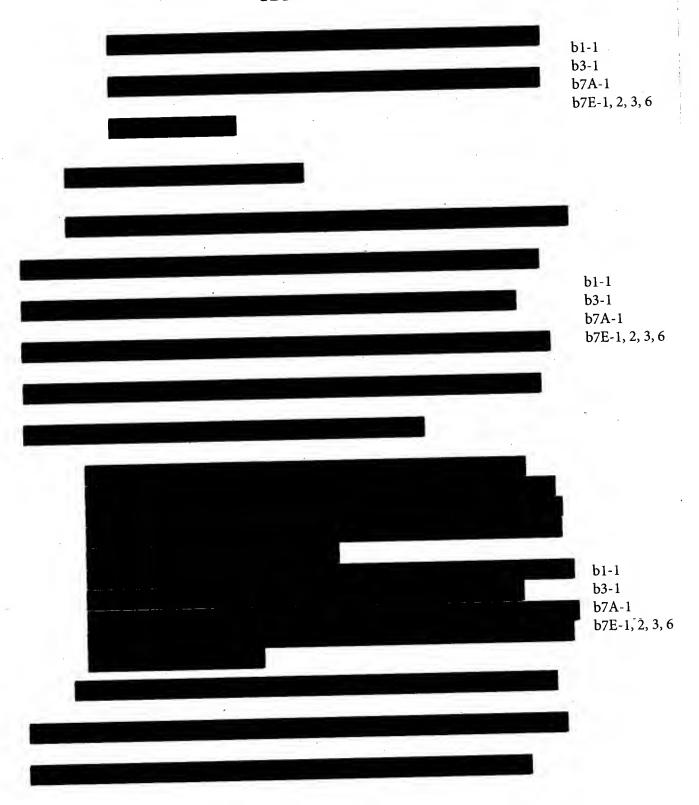
6. The authorities approved are for the period indicated below unless otherwise ordered by this Court.

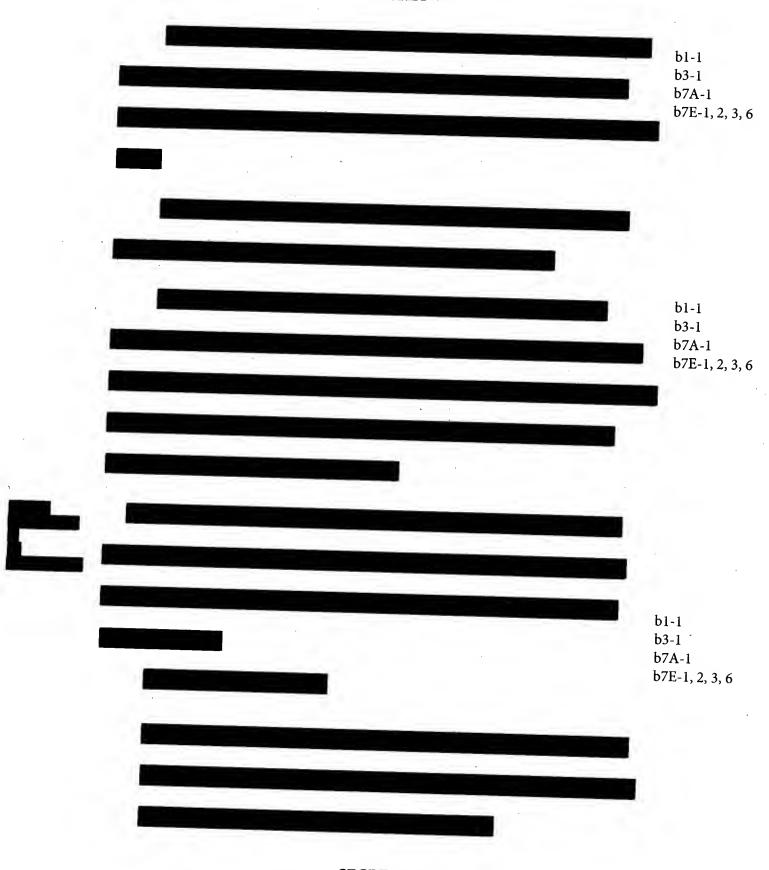
b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

As to all information acquired through the authorities approved herein,

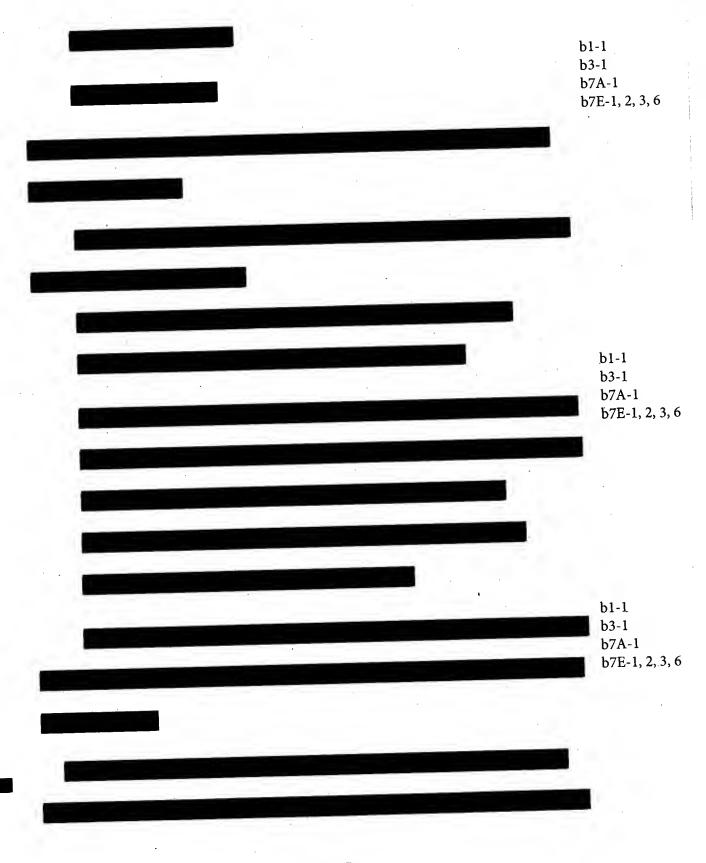


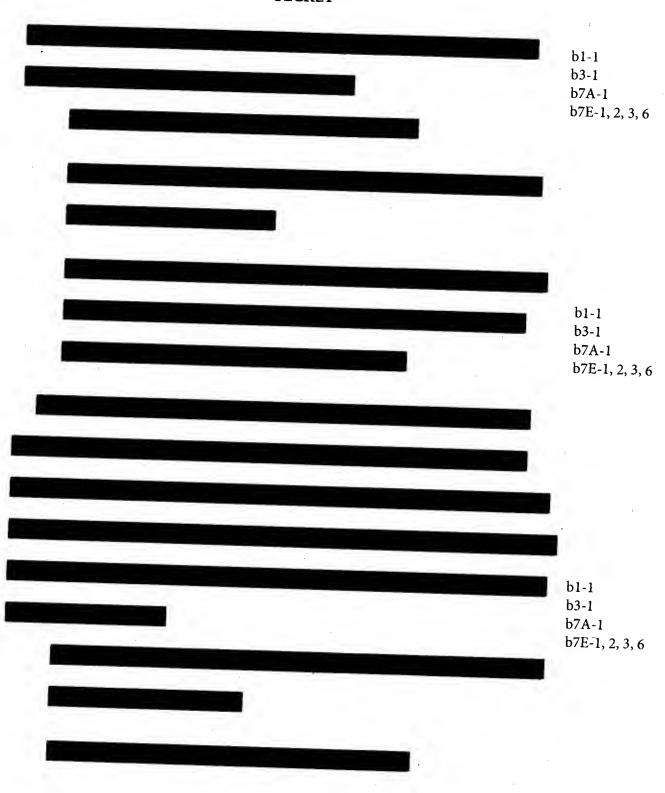
and the state

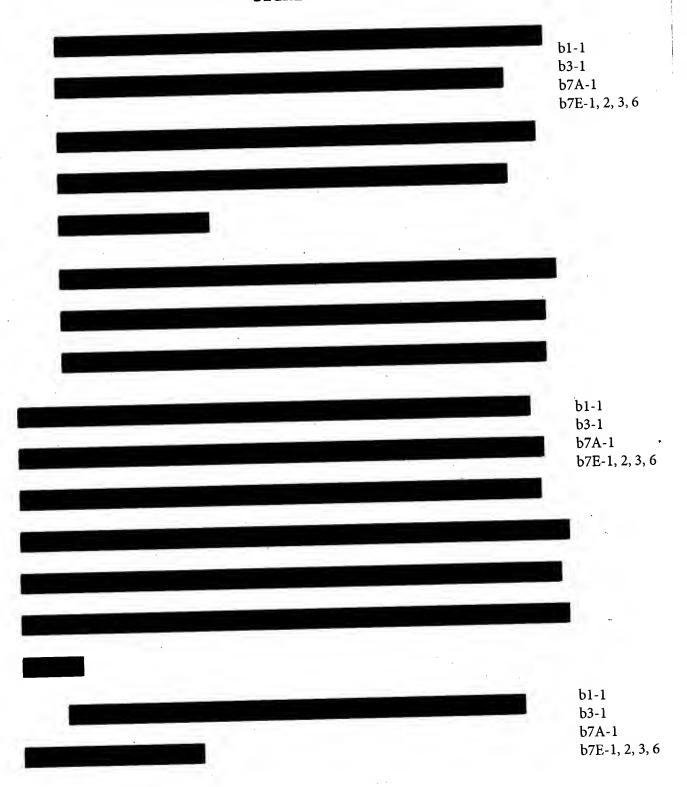


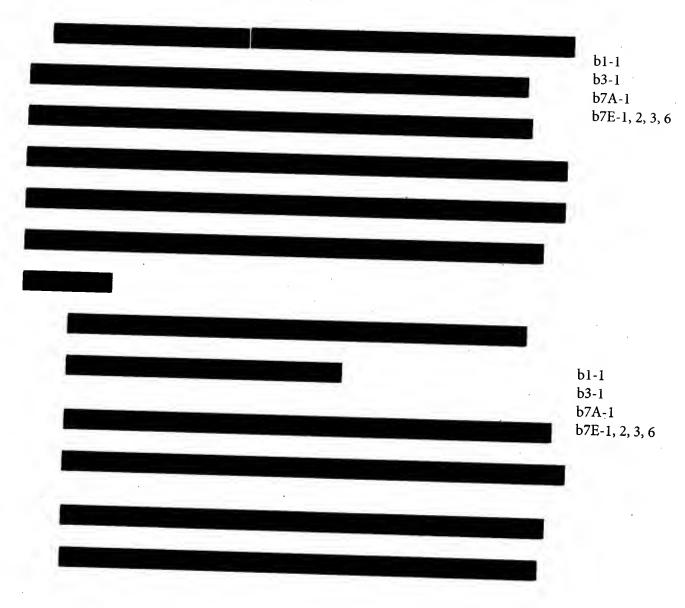


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This authoriza	ation regarding Carte	r W. Page expires at	Eastern Time
on the	day of Jan	iary, 2017.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed	10- <b>10</b> -2016  Date	Time Eastern	Гime
•		ROSEMARY M. COLL rudge, United States Fo	

Intelligence Surveillance Court

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.

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otherwise shown	ı. 1 <del>0</del>	P SECKET//N	OFORN/FI	5A			
Classify By: J23 Reason: (C) Derived From:	J98T32 FBI NSICG, dated 01-2017	UNITED S	STATES			_	
Declassify On:	FOREIGN INT	TELLIGENCE	SURVEILLA	ANCE	COURT		
		WASHING	•	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	CLERN 6		
(	S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGI	E, A U.S.	Docket Nu	ımber:		·	
1	PERSON.						b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·						

#### (U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

(\$\text{\$



made by Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau b1-1 b3-1 of Investigation (**FBI**) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervision of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon information b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 officially furnished to

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Classified by:

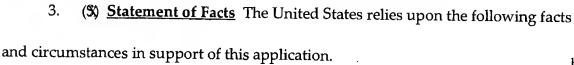
Derived from:

Declassify on:

2. (St) Identity of the Target The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The status of the target was determined in or about December 2016 from information provided by the U.S. Department of State.

b1-1
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b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

- a. (S) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (S) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (U) (3) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.
- (U) (X) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

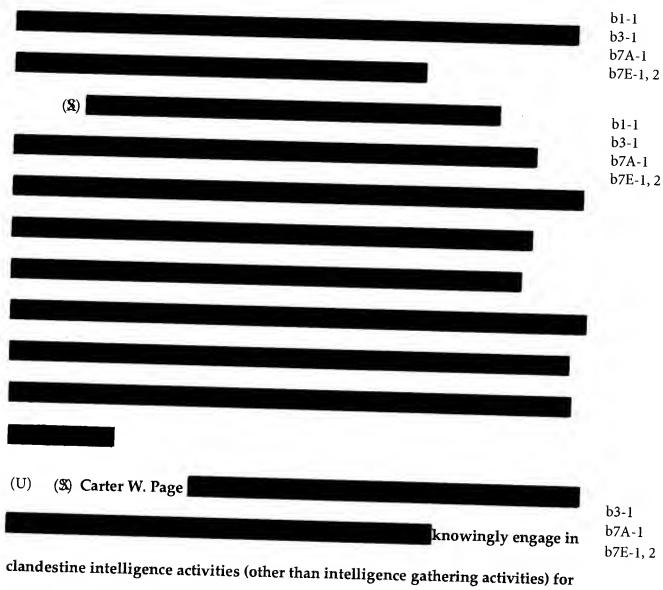
(U) (3) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in Permanent Missions to the United Nations, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(U)

(S) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation

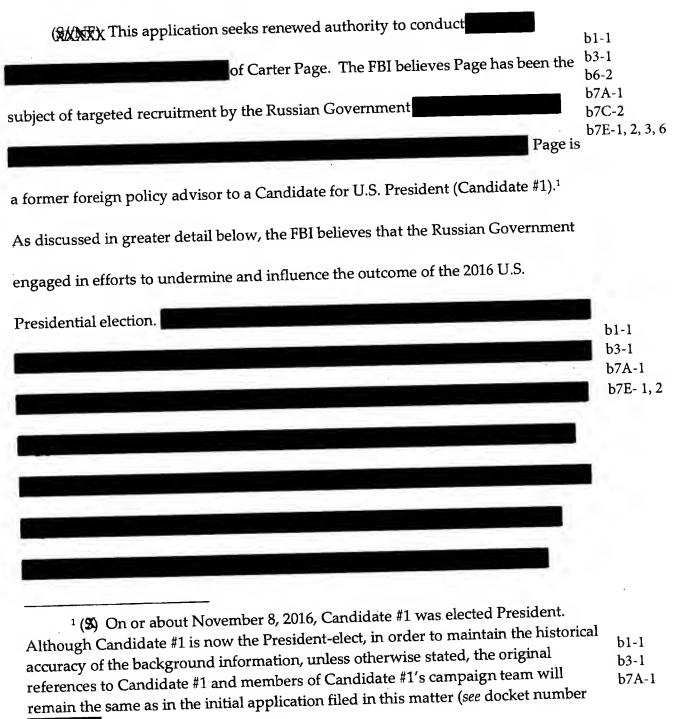
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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

## I. (U) Overview.



b1-1
b3-1
b7A-1
b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2

- II. (SXAXF) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.
  - (U) A. (SANT) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."

bring to bear in the same effort."

b1-1
b3-1
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b7E-1, 2

b. b'	1-1 3-1 7A-1 7E-1, 2
(SANT) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the	
Democratic National Committee (DNC). <sup>2</sup>	
There has been speculation in the U.S. media that the Russian Government	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
was behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack.	b7E-1, 2, 3
Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was	
not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a	
net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public."	
Despite Russia's denial	
	b-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
<sup>2</sup> (XXXX According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official	1
materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

In

b1-1 b3-1

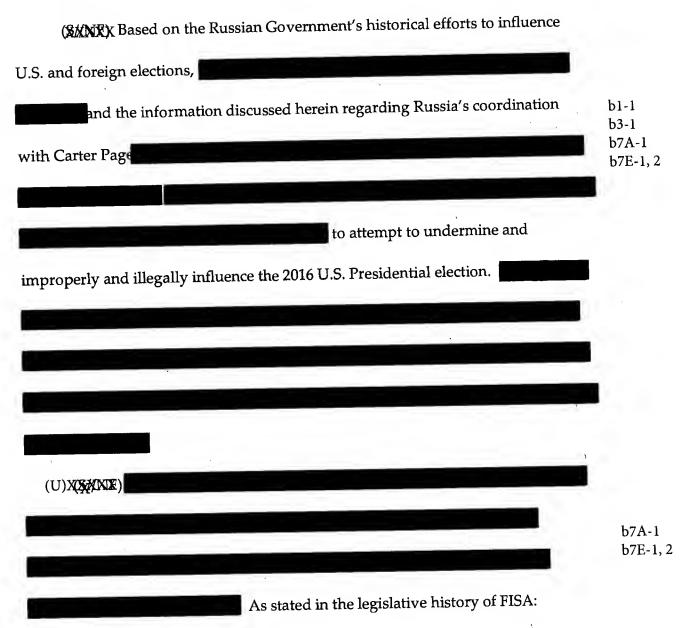
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addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of

Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the current U.S. Presidential Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia

took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].



Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

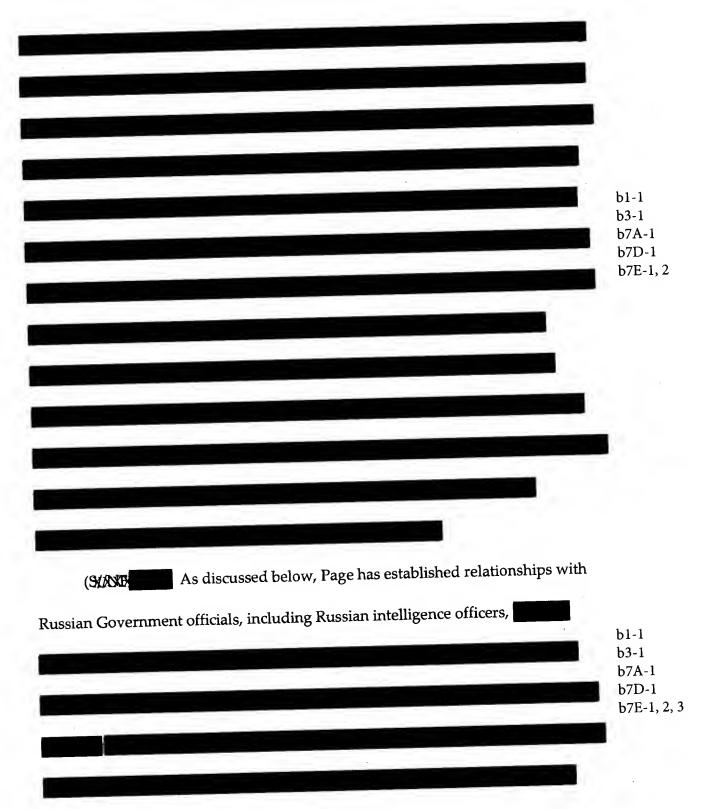
H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

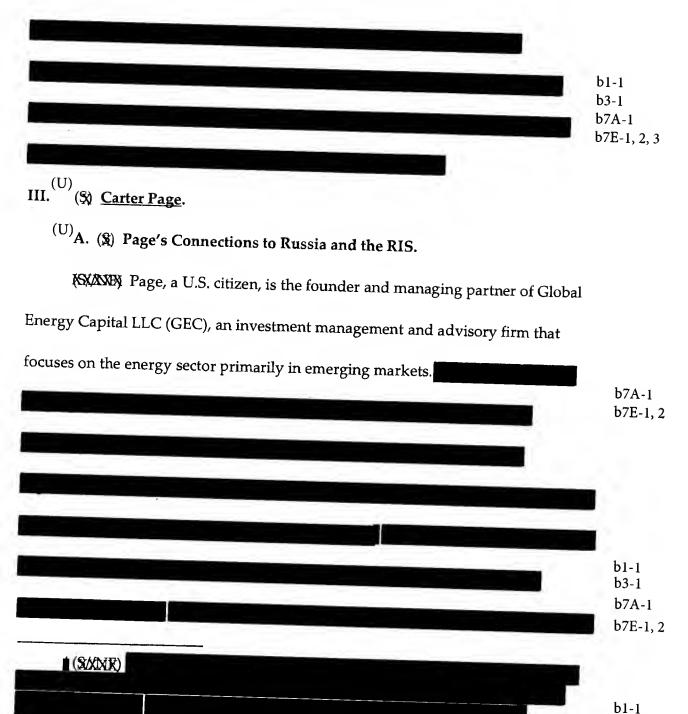
In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos<sup>3</sup> and Carter Page (the target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her

foreign policy team. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 3 (5) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

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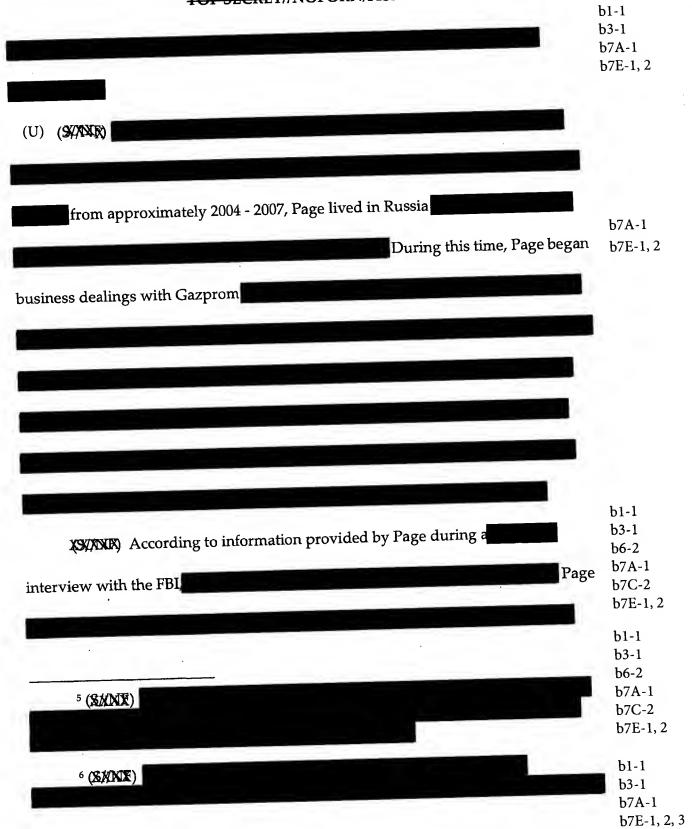
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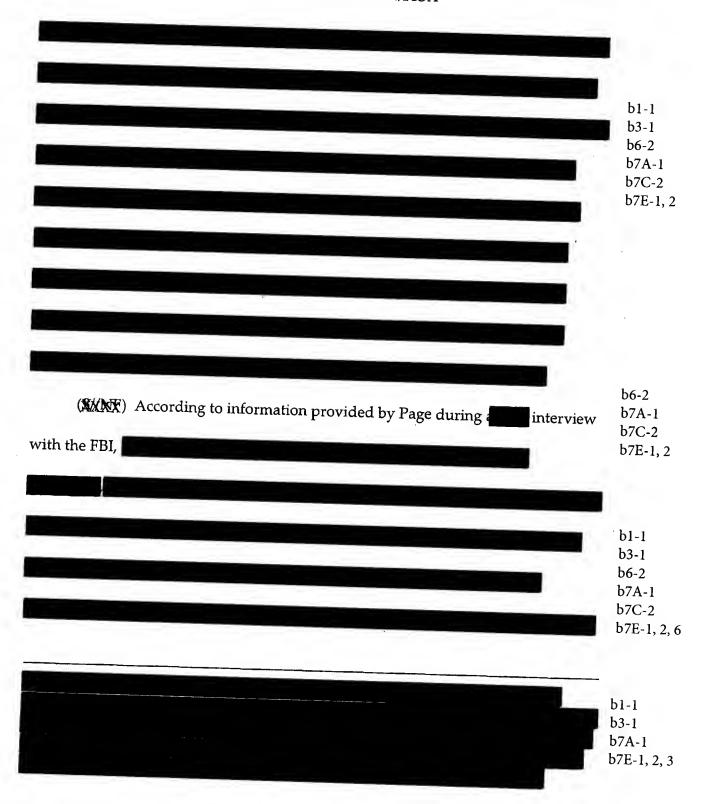


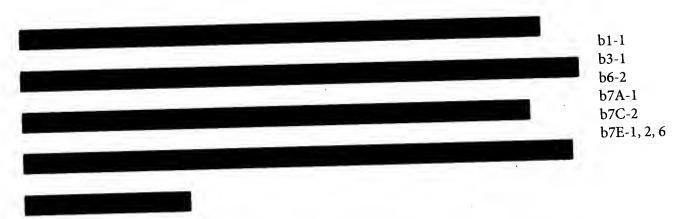
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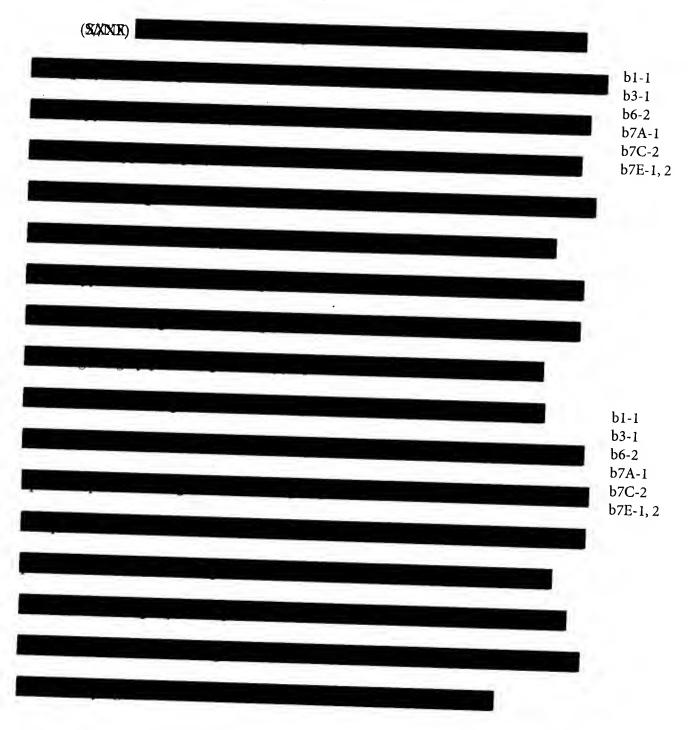


and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government).

According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of Russia. The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City

<sup>(</sup>U) <sup>7</sup> (SWNX) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison.

residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



(U)

B. (SMANF) Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.

(SANK) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School.<sup>8</sup> In addition to giving this address, the FBI learned that Page met with at least two Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI confidential human source (Source #1),<sup>9</sup> reported that Page had a

	b3-1
	b7A-1
(U) 8 (SX/XXXX)	b7E-1, 2, 4

has been an FBI source since

Source #1 has been compensated

in or about October 2016, the FBI suspended its

relationship with Source #1 due to Source #1's unauthorized disclosure of
information to the press. Notwithstanding the suspension of its relationship with
Source #1, the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable as previous reporting from
Source #1 has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings. Moreover, the
FBI notes that the incident that led to the FBI suspending its relationship with
Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

(U) (TS/NX) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

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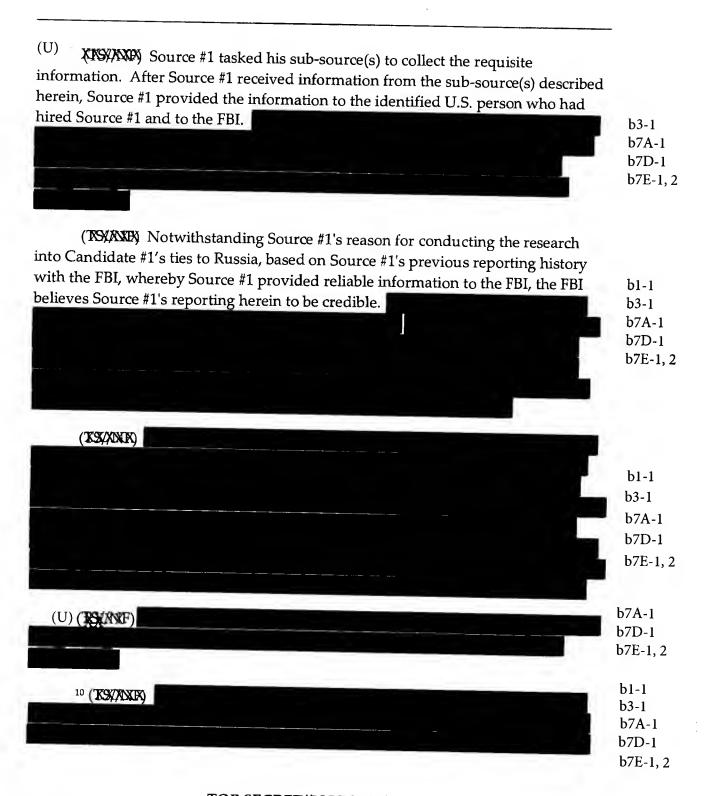
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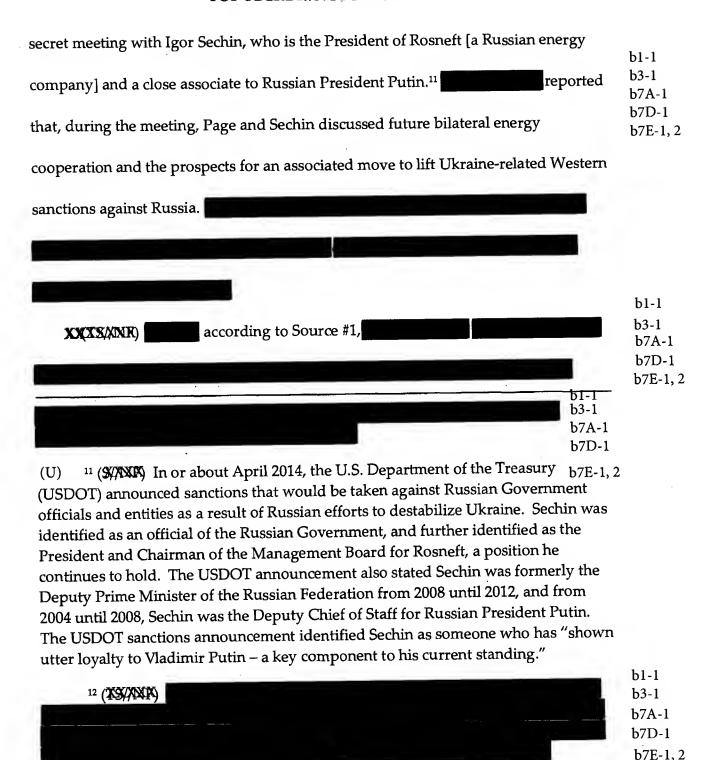
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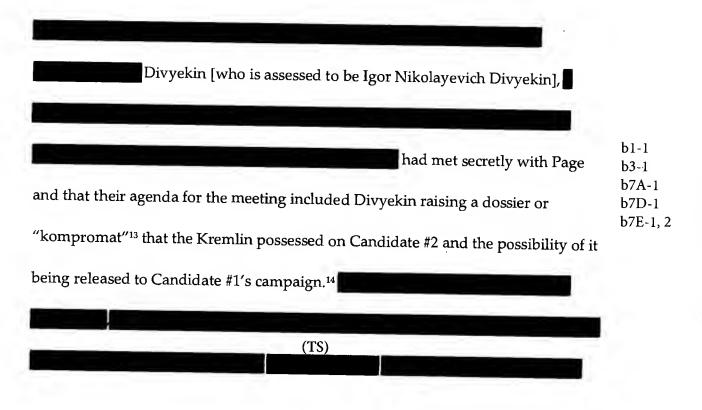
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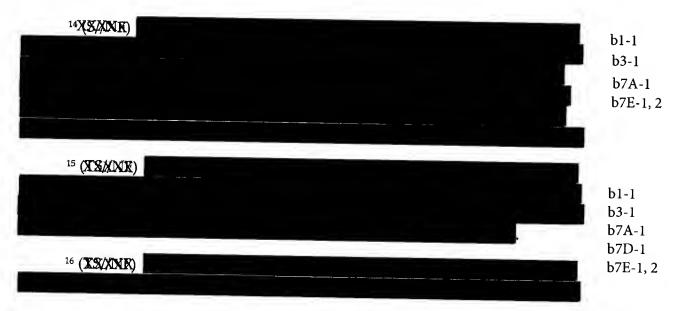
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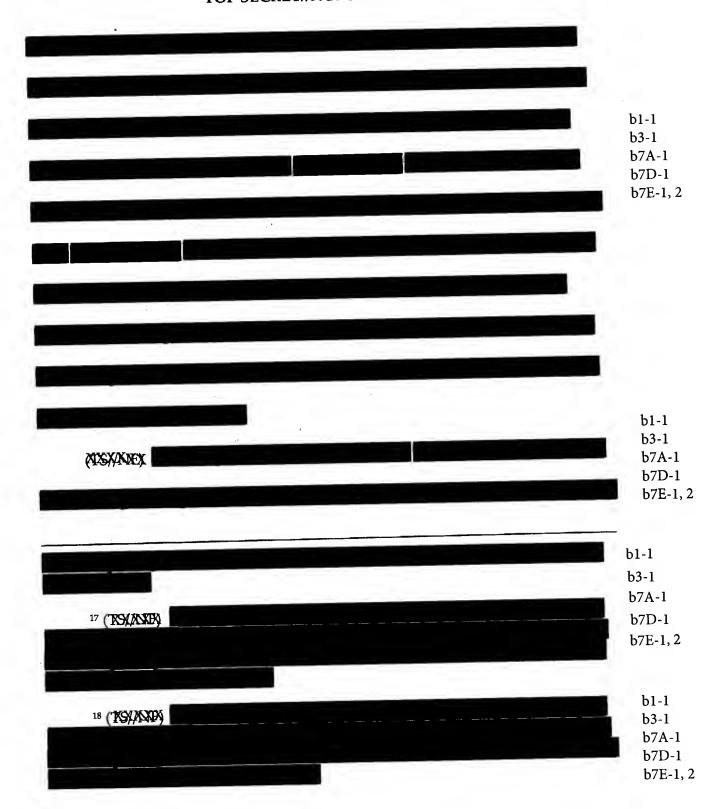


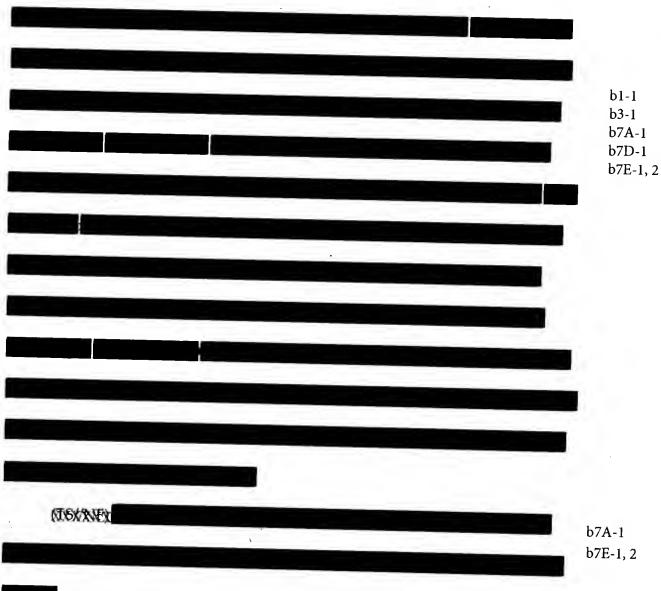


<sup>(</sup>U) 13 (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.



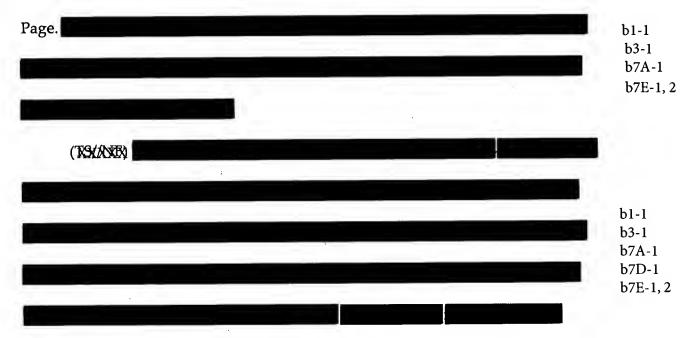
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Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make

sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter



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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

- IV. (U) (SXAME) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.
- (U) (SXXXXX) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have

responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.<sup>19</sup>

(U) (SXAM) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) (TSAME) In or about late October 2016, however, after the Director of the FBI sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI has suspended its relationship with Source #1 because of this disclosure.

<sup>19 (\*)</sup> As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was

based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager.

During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign . . . ."

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

(U) (SXANF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director.

In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News

Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing

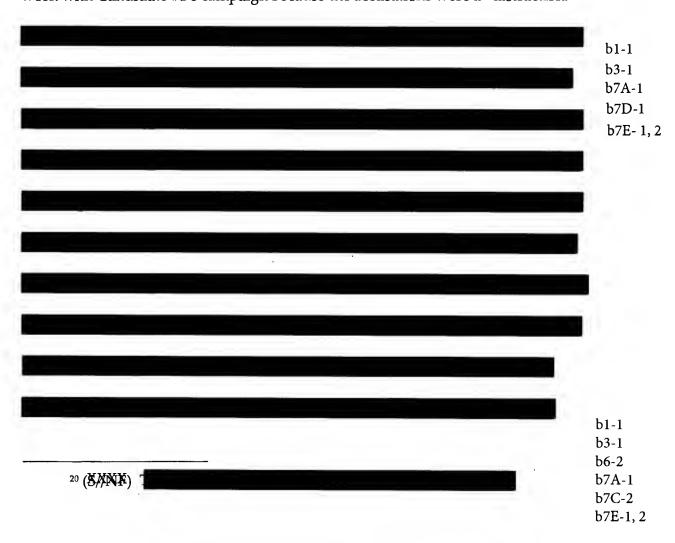
more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any

sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss

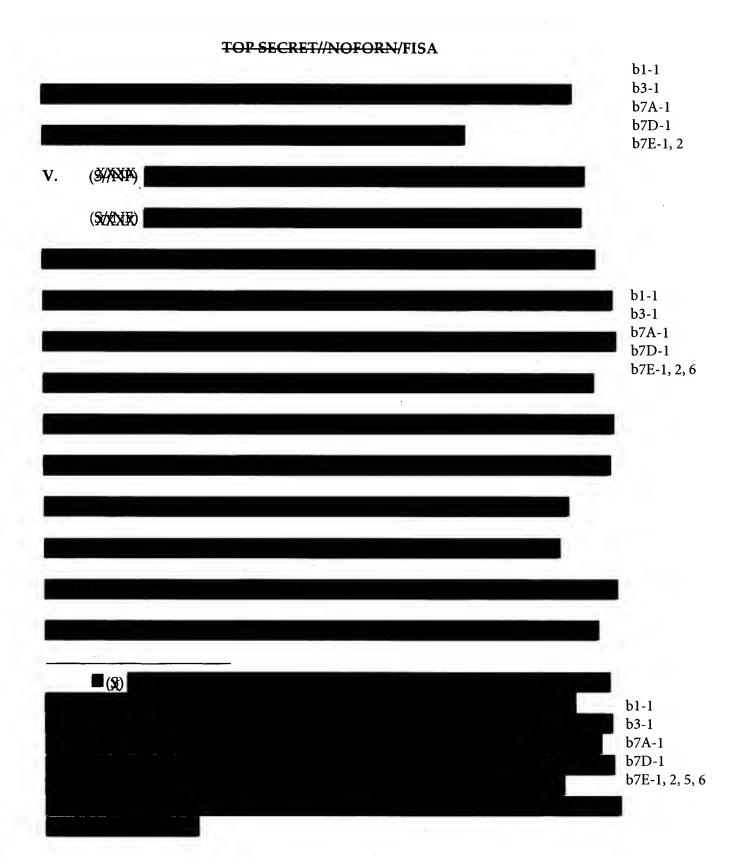
any "final" questions the FBI may have.20

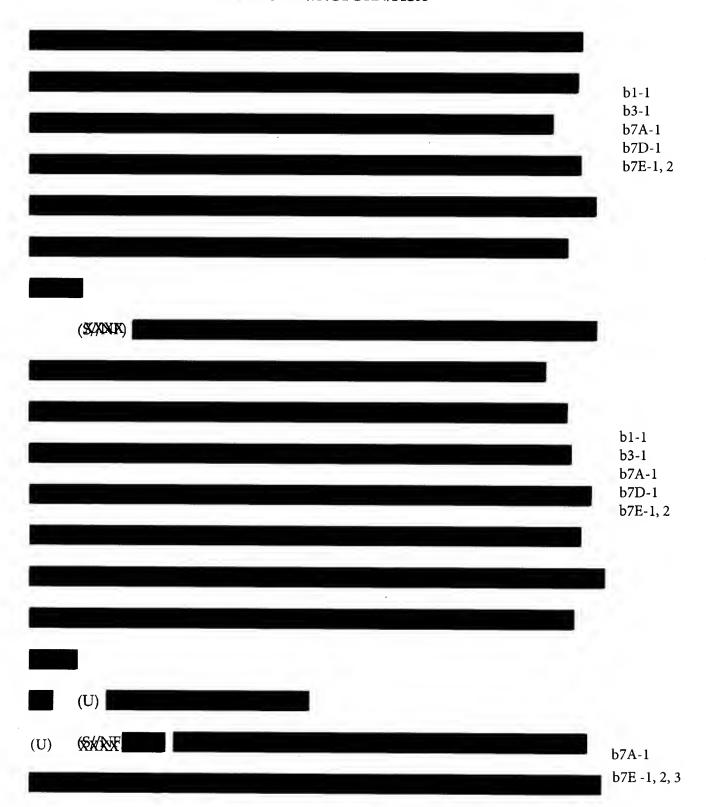
organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page

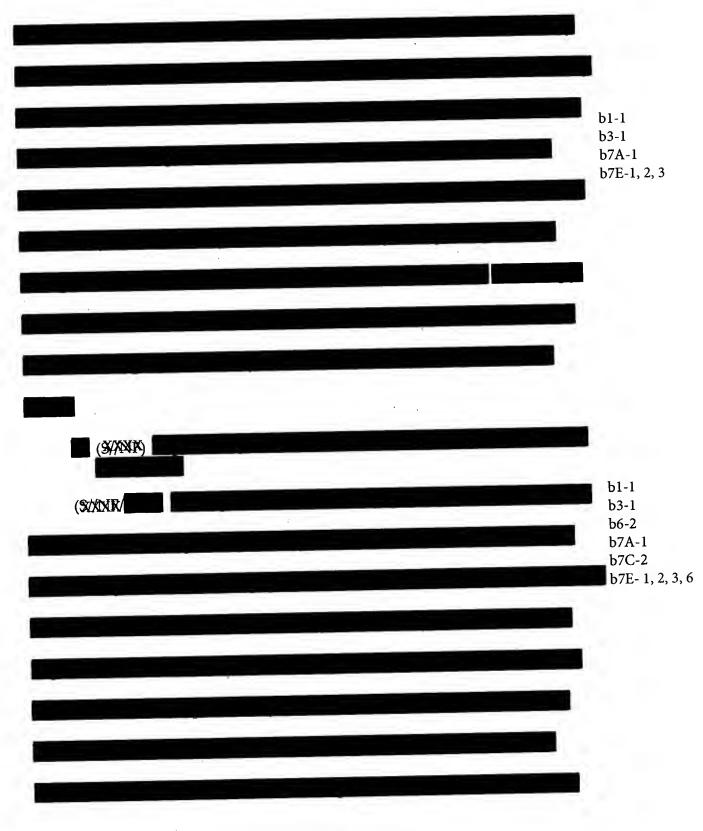
(September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."

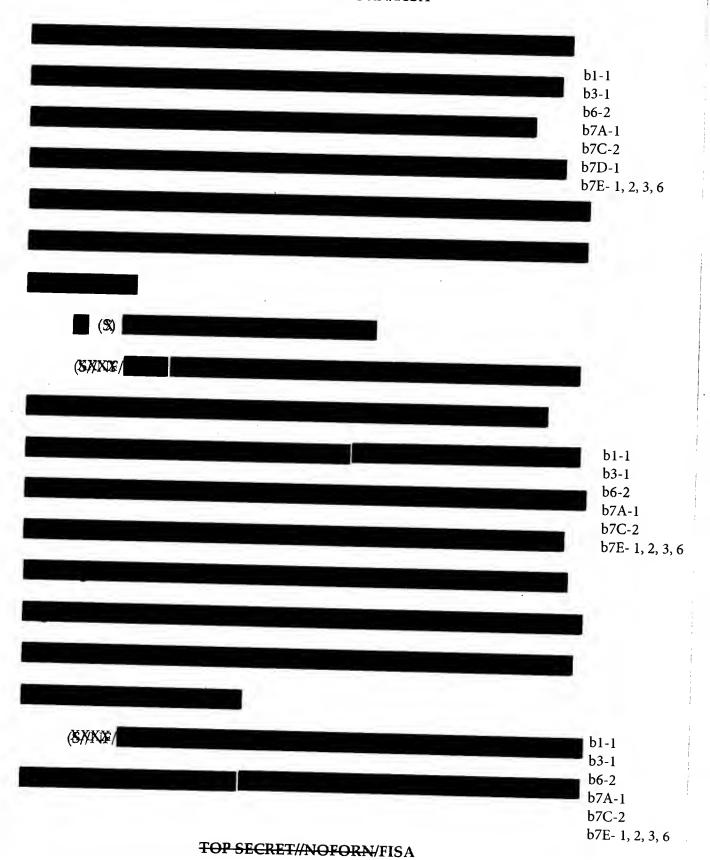


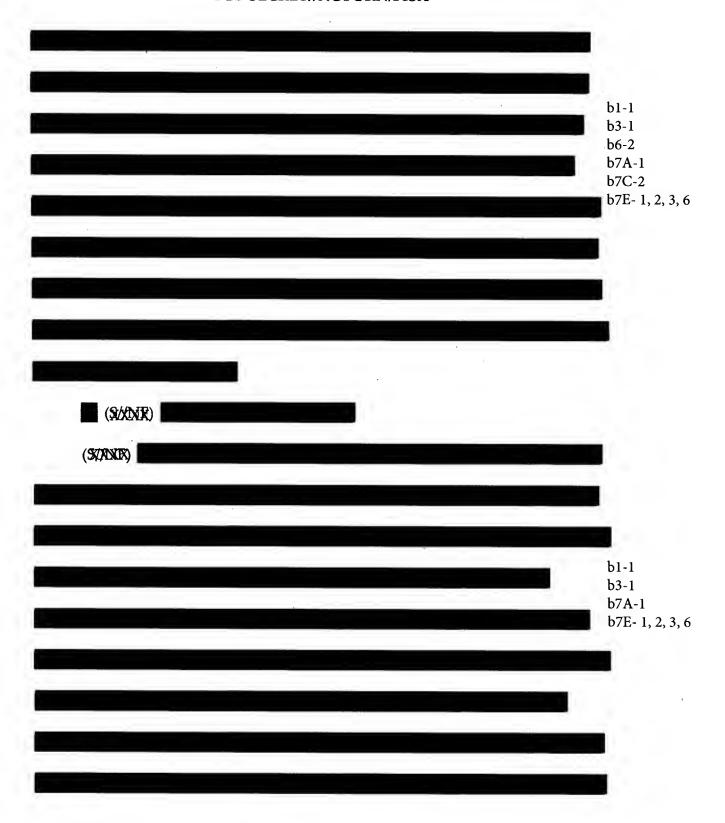
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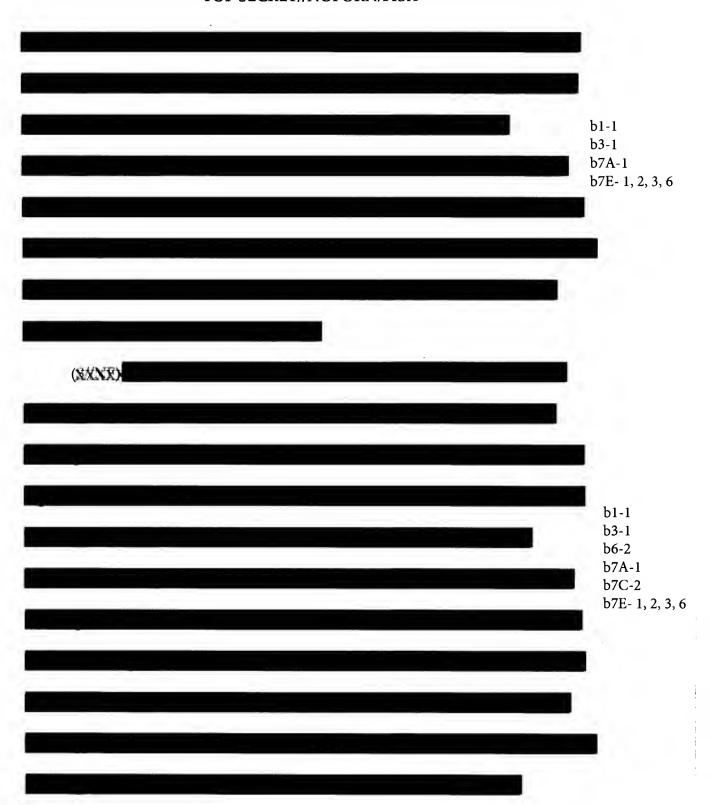


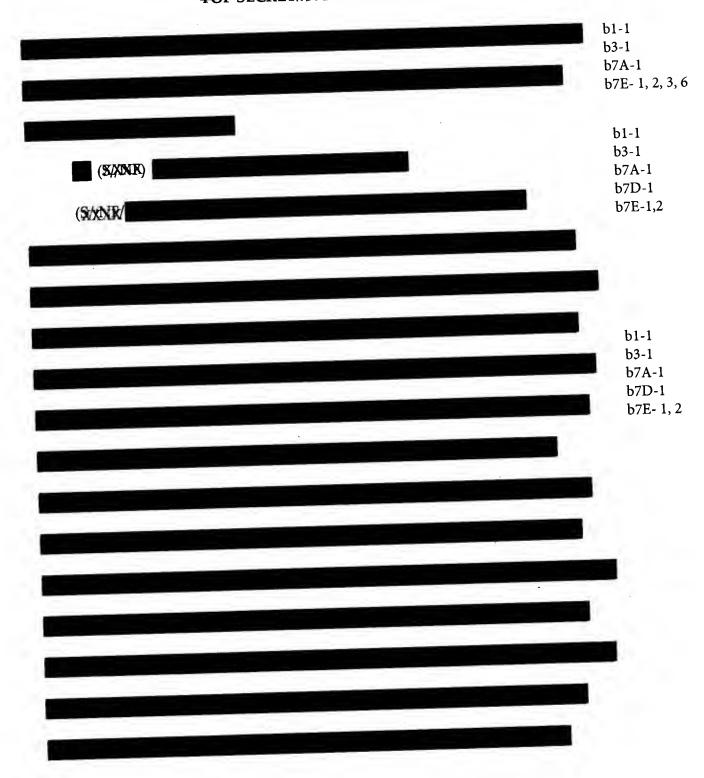


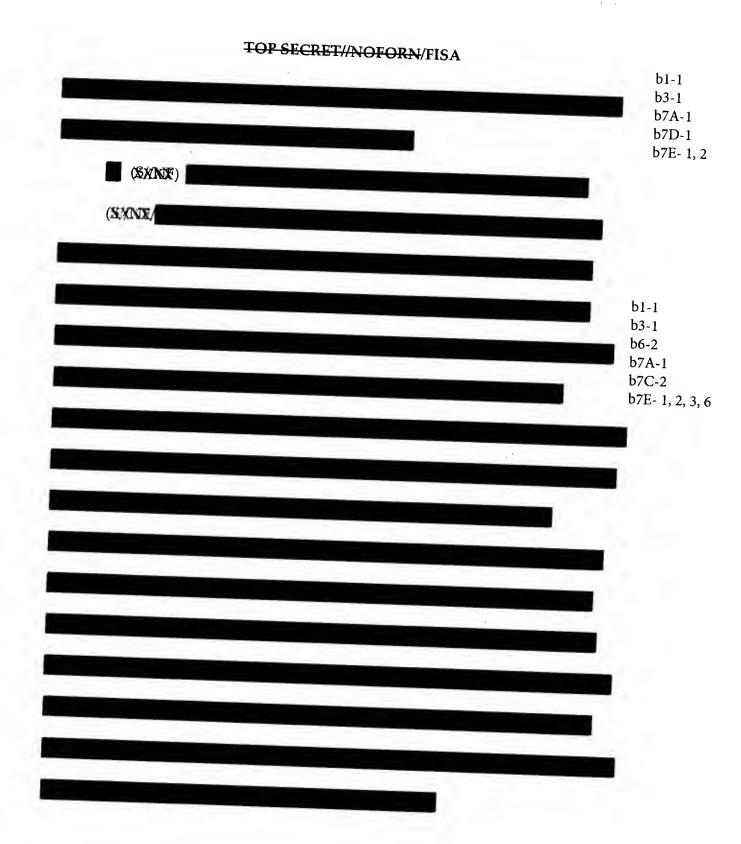


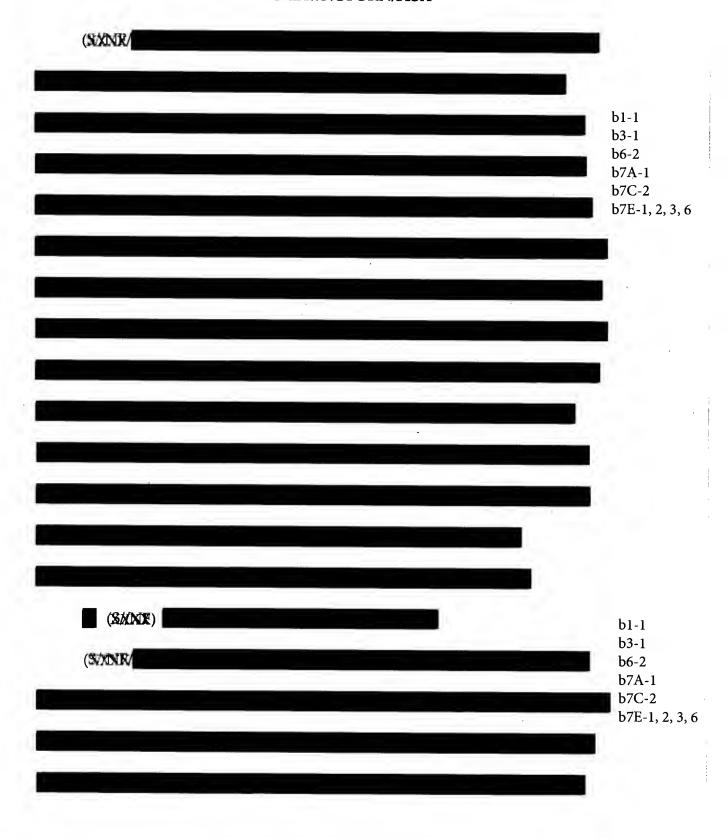


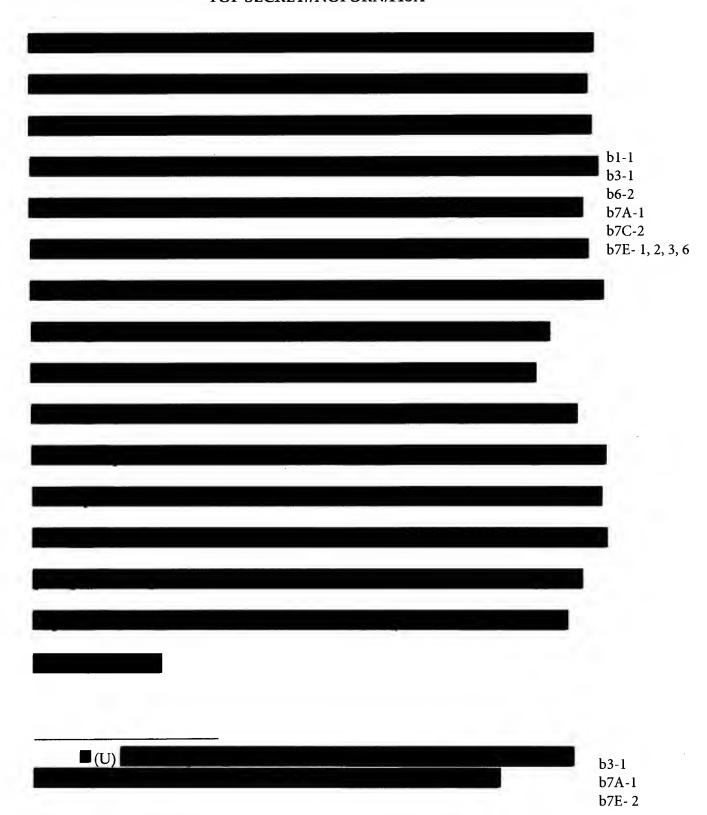


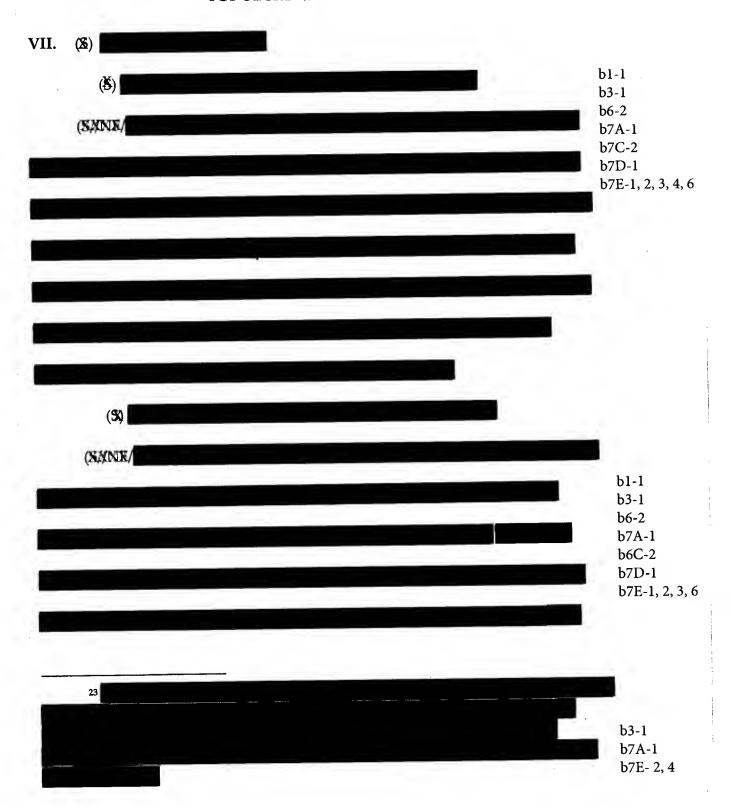


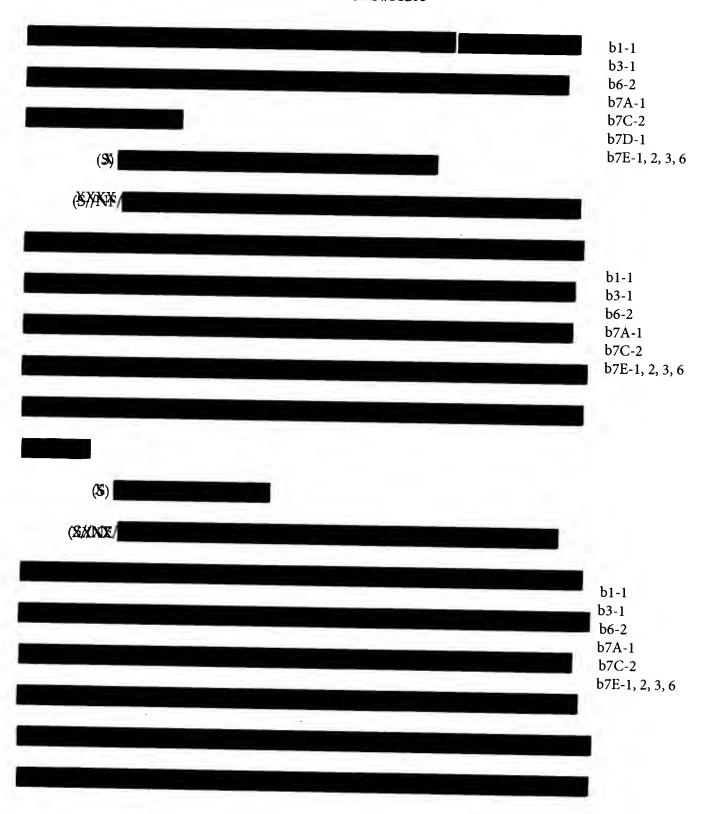


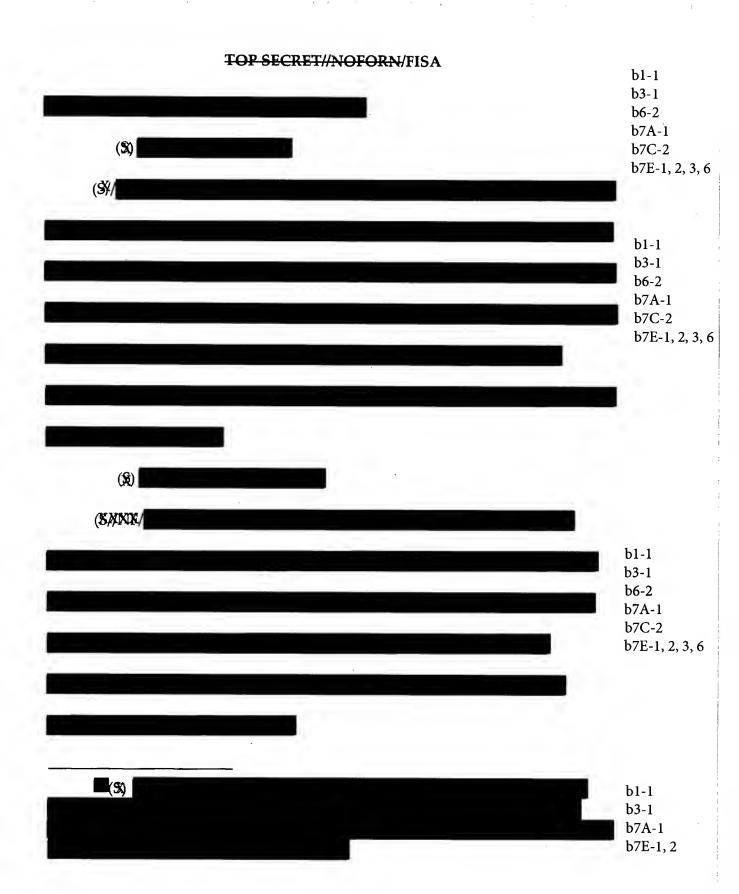




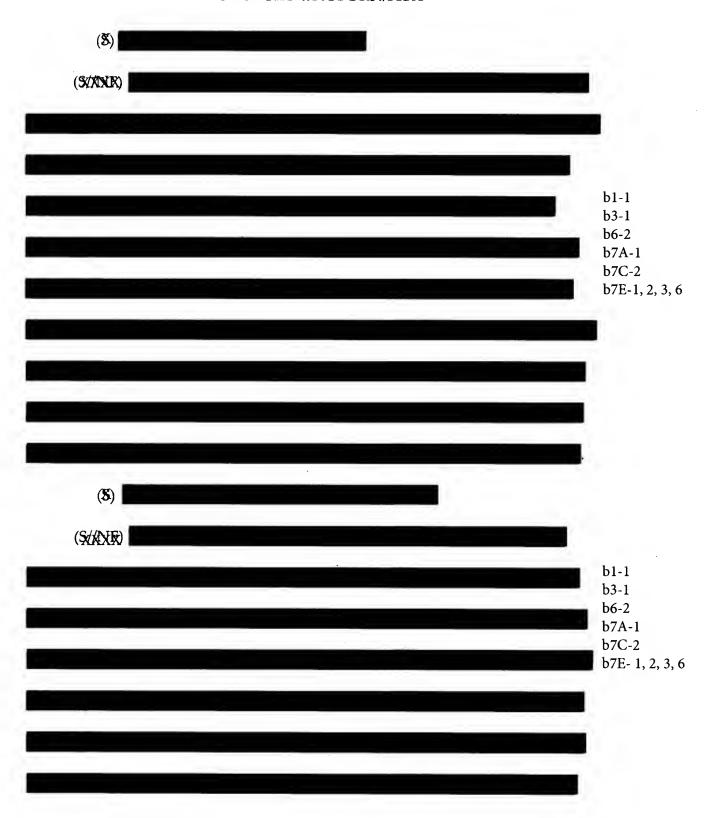








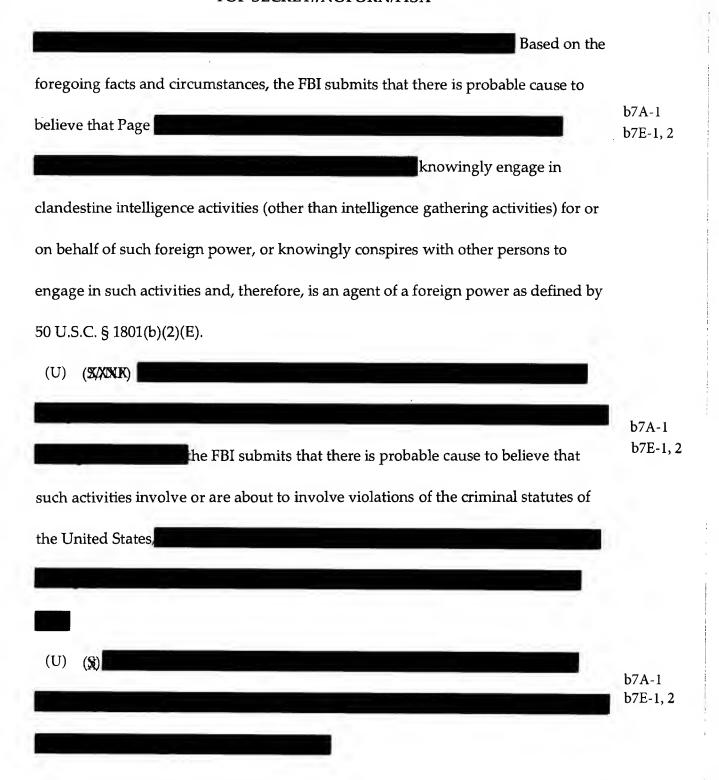
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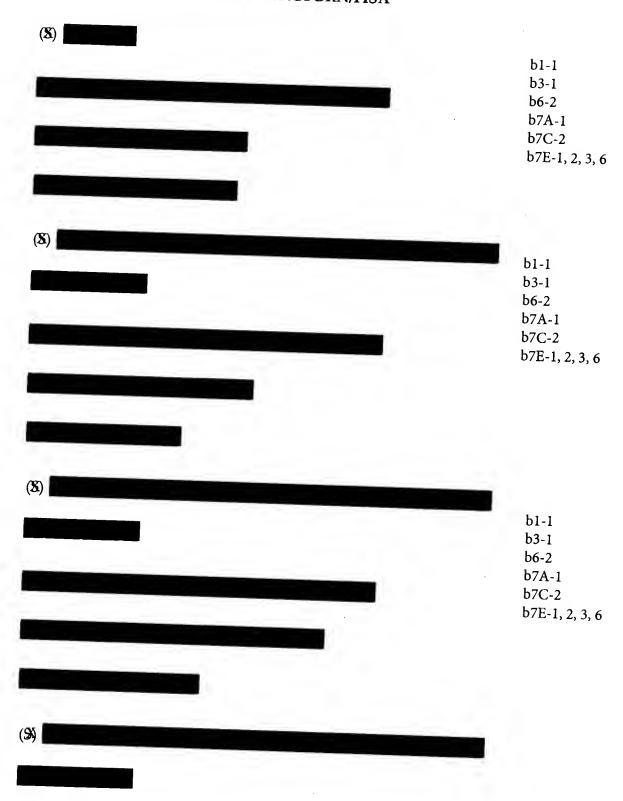
## VIII. (U) Conclusion.

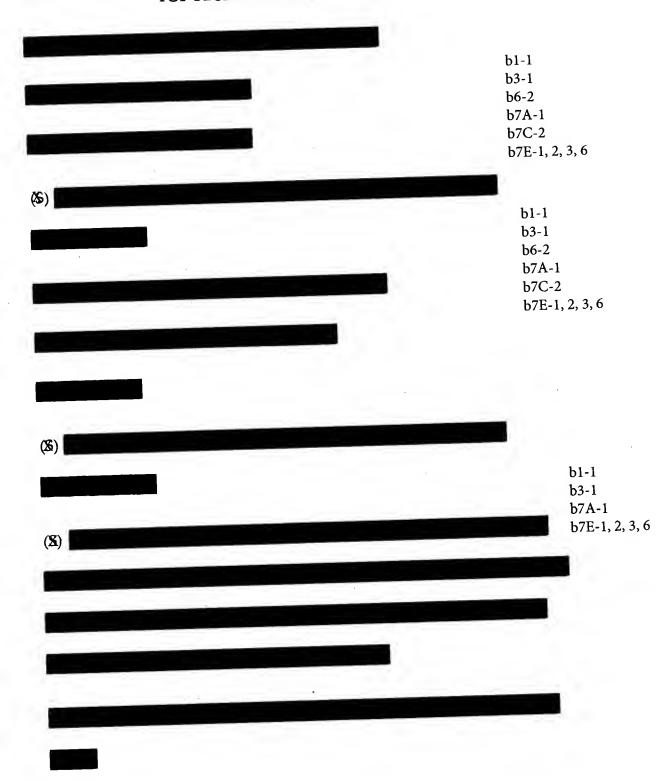
(U) (SANIX) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 and conspiring with the Russian Government,



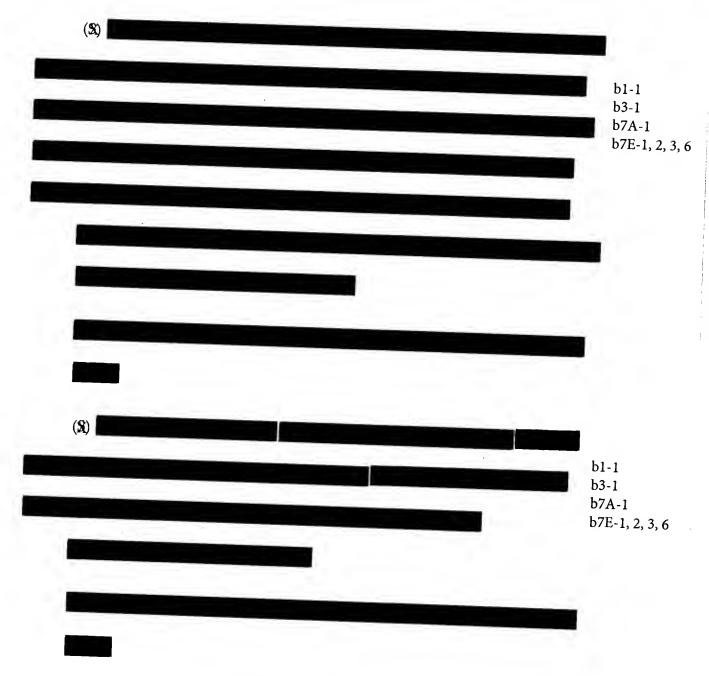


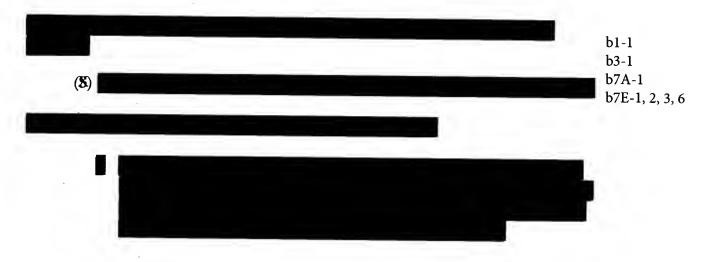
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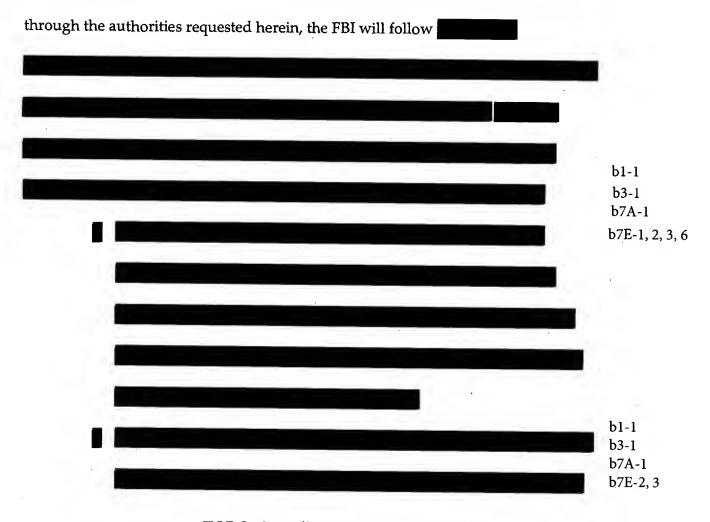


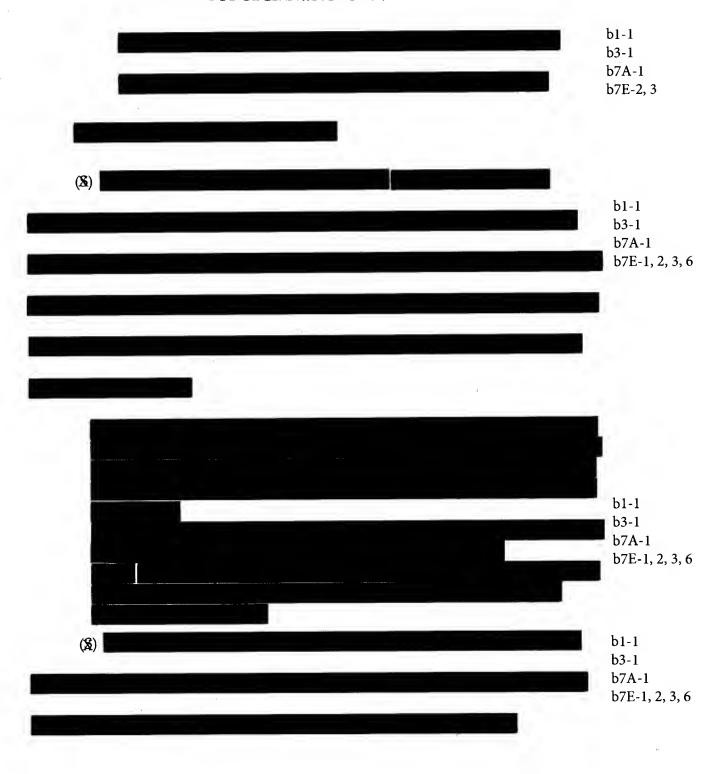
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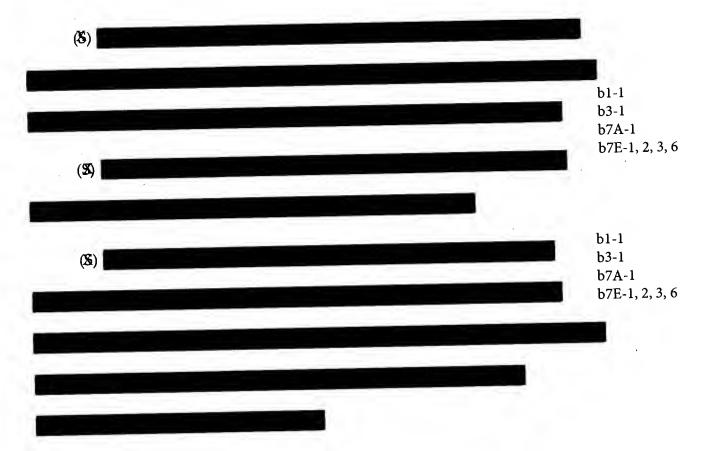




4. (3) <u>Proposed Minimization Procedures</u> As to all information acquired

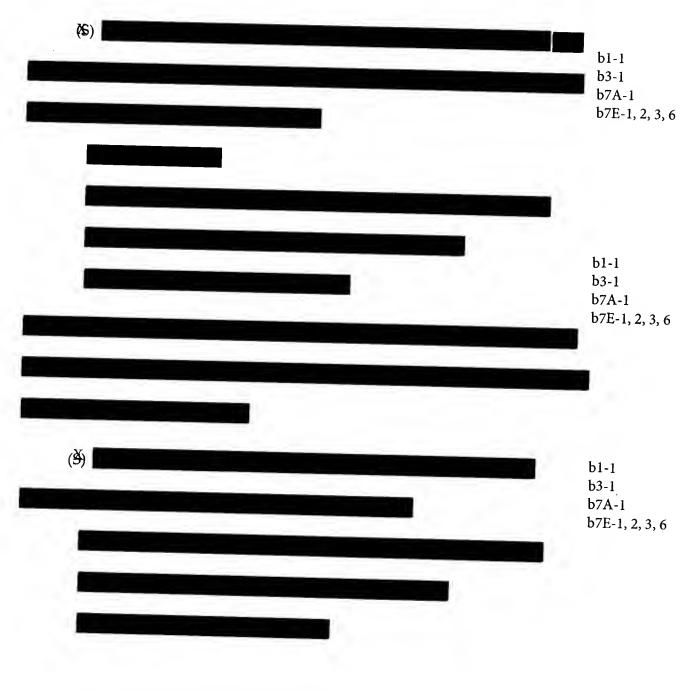


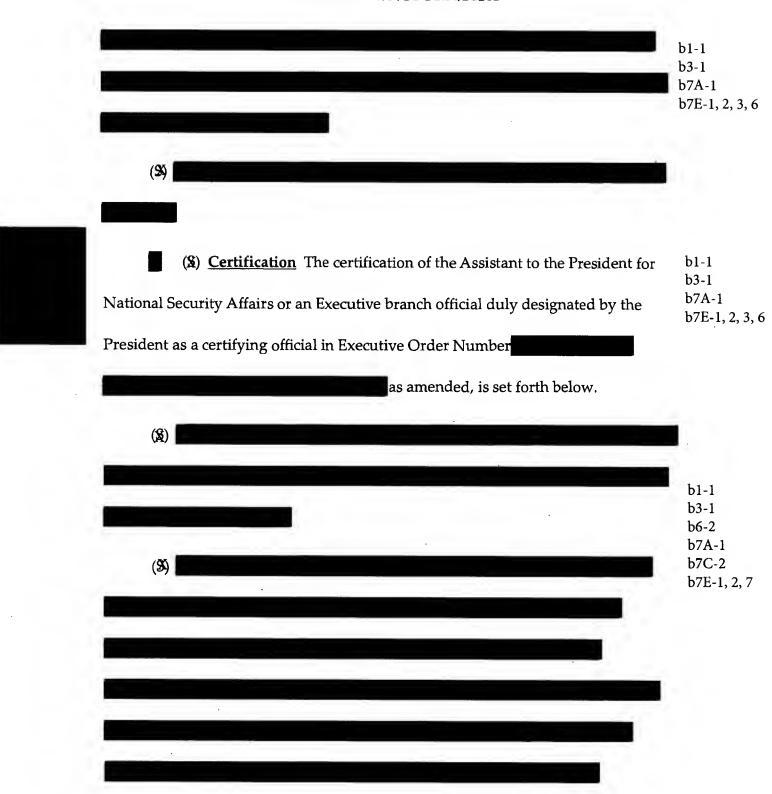




requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the

foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.

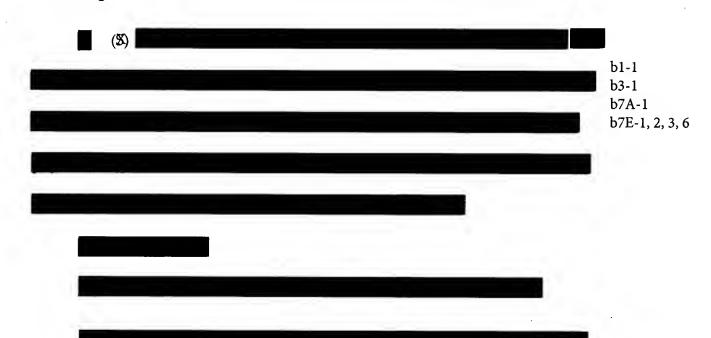


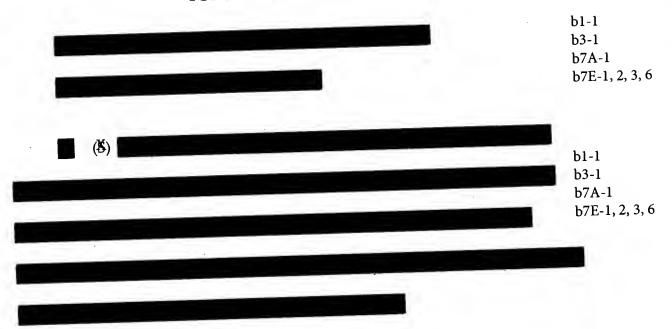


(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

of this target.

(S) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6





# 9. (3) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,

The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign
b3-1
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b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

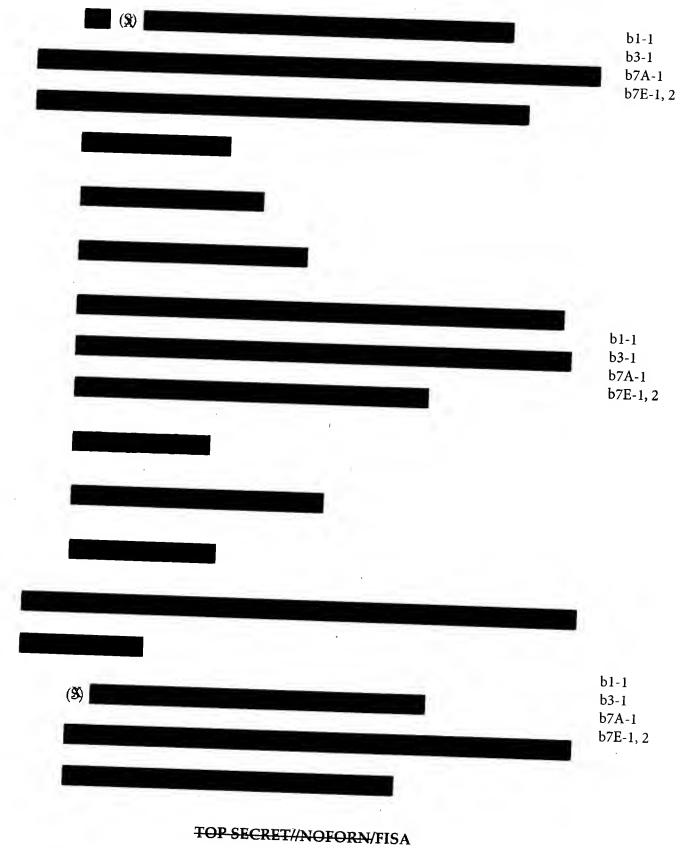
type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested.

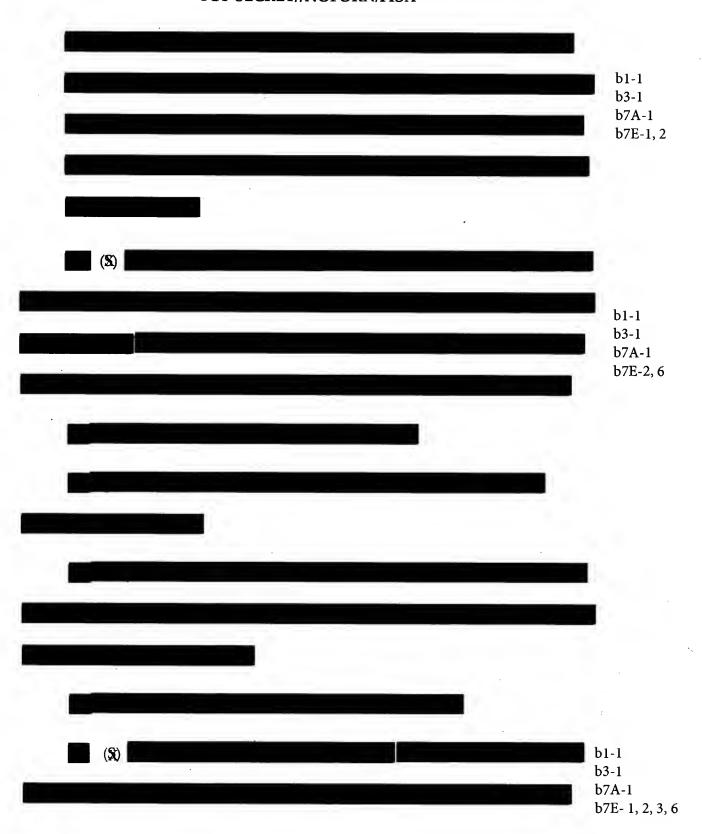
The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental
and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised
to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and
the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a
given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

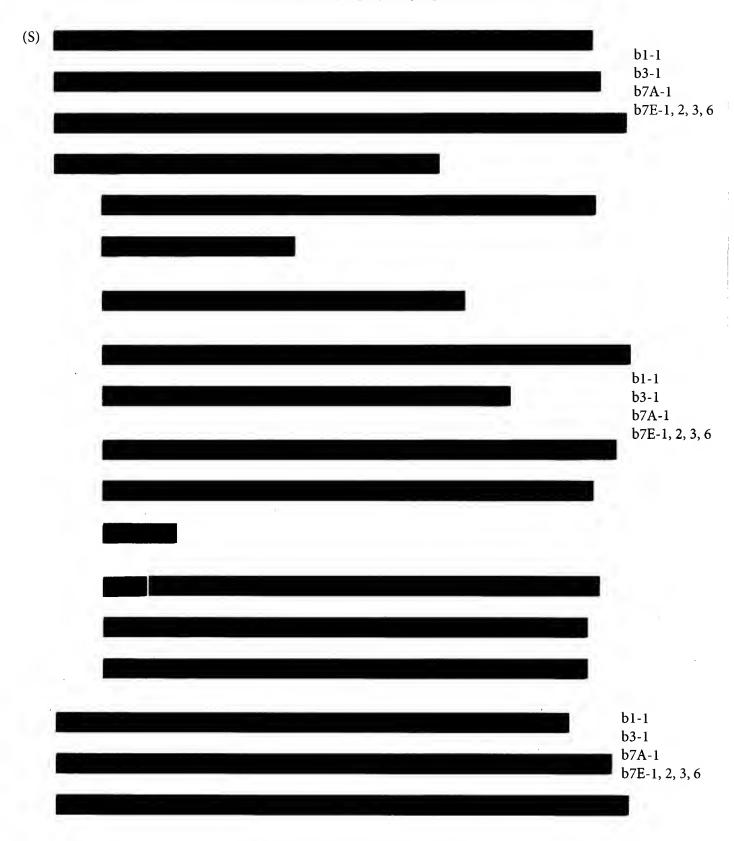
Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period
of ninety (90) days.

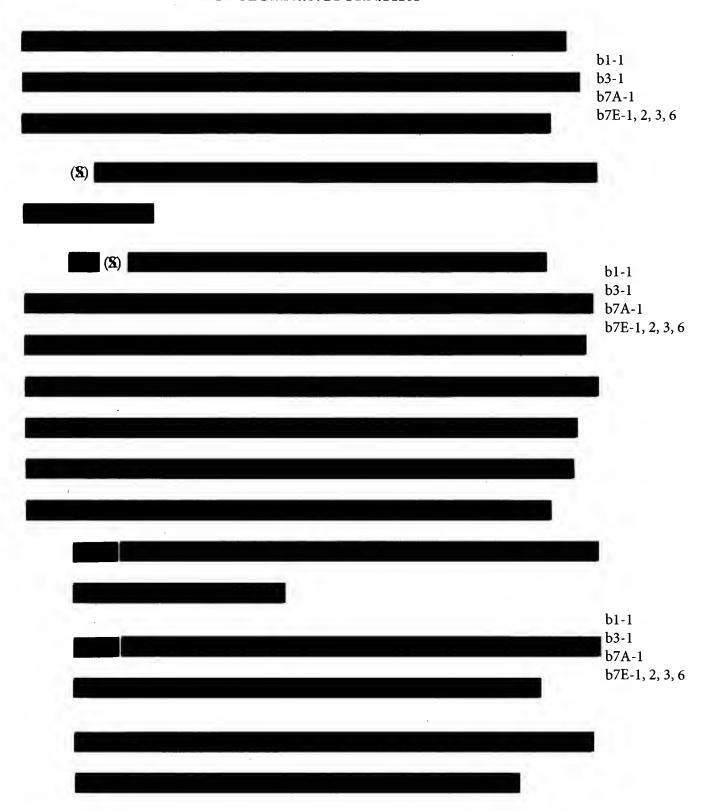
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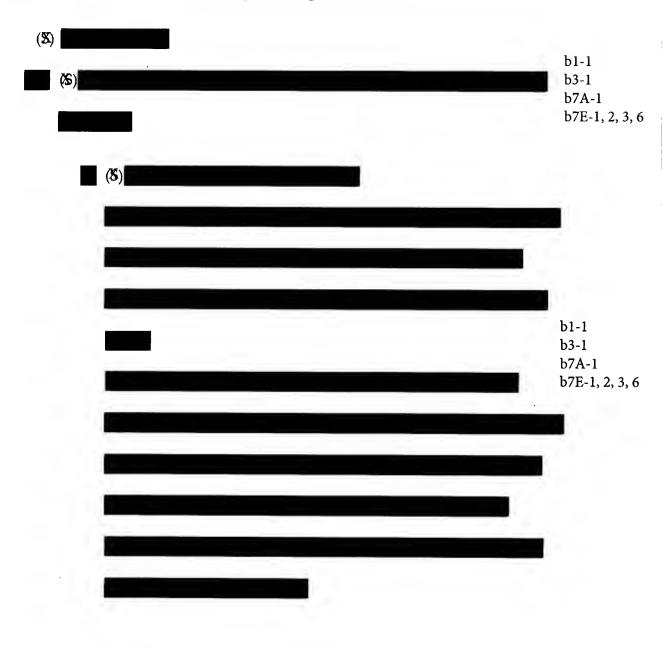


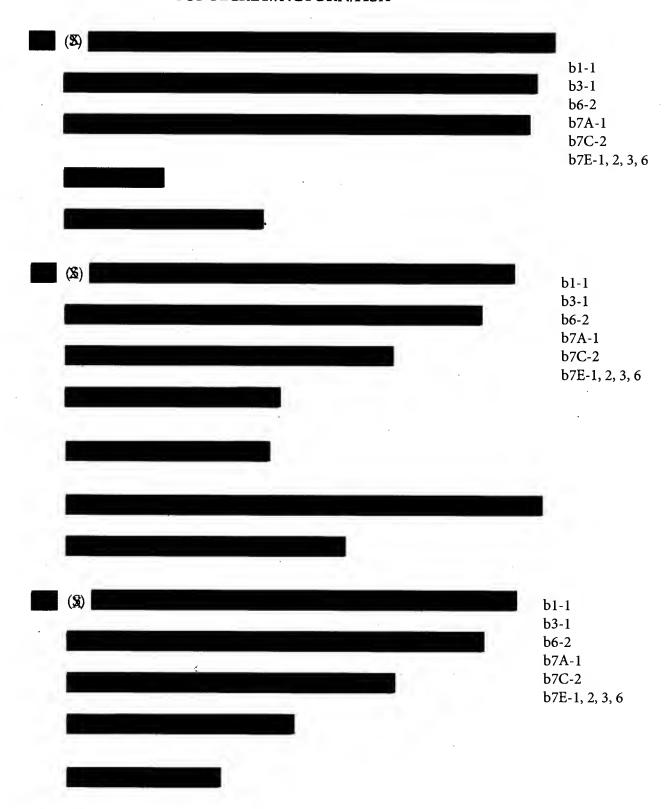


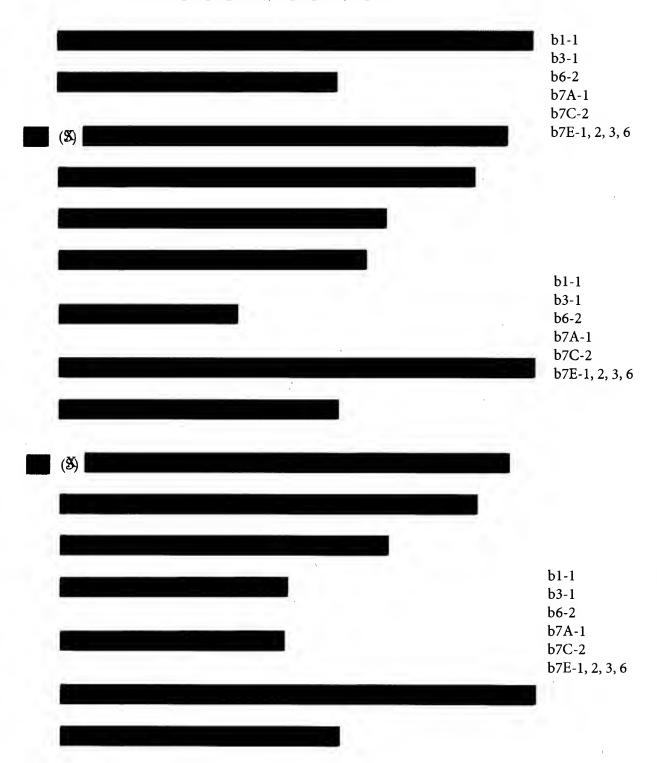


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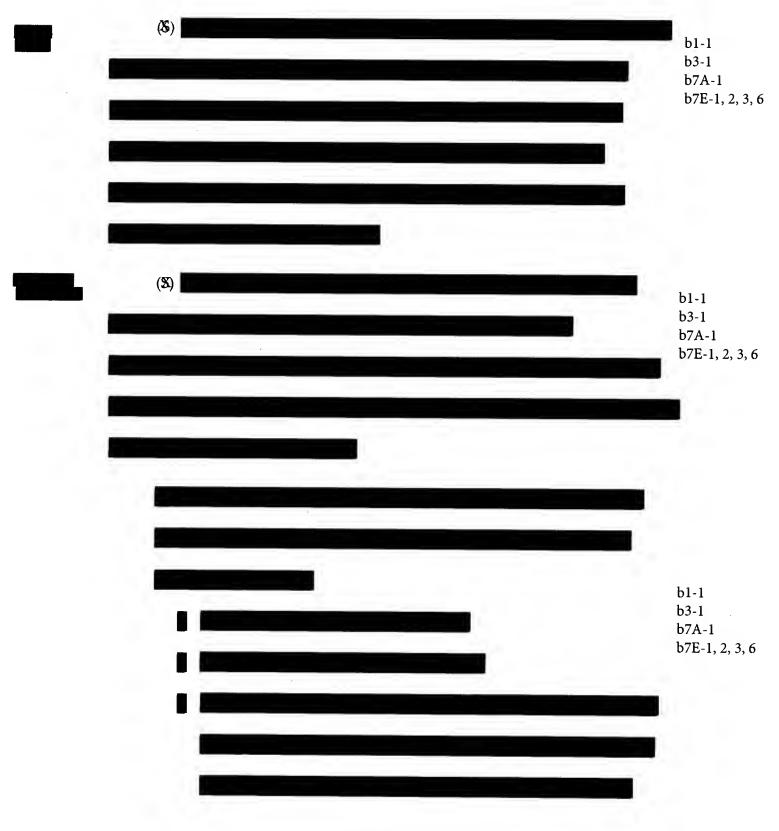
(U)(S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

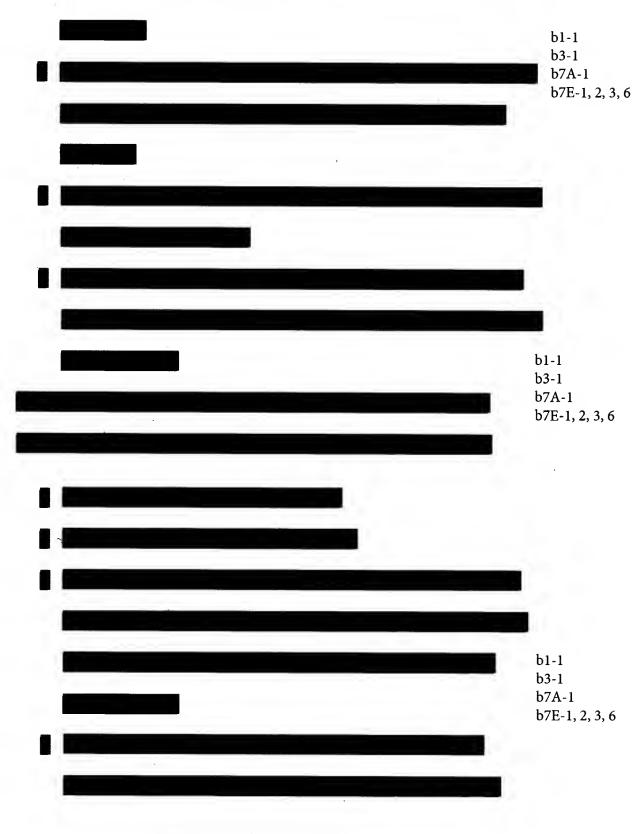












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(U) (3) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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# (U) VERIFICATION

(S) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United States Code, § 1746 on January 2017	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
b	6-1 7A-1 7C-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

### (U) CERTIFICATION

(%) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the

requested in this verified application targeting

Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

b1-1 b3-1

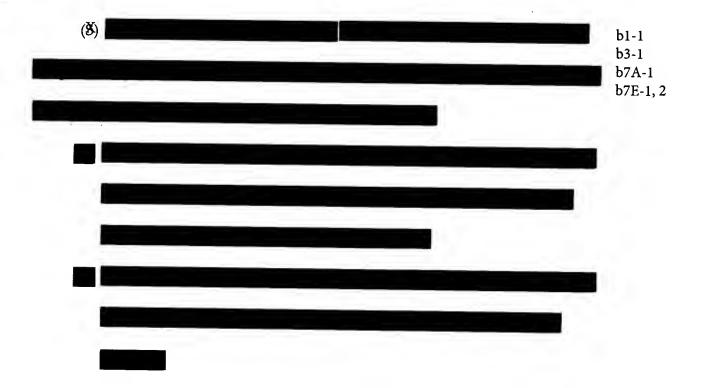
- b7A-1 (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b1-1 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
- (U) (D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

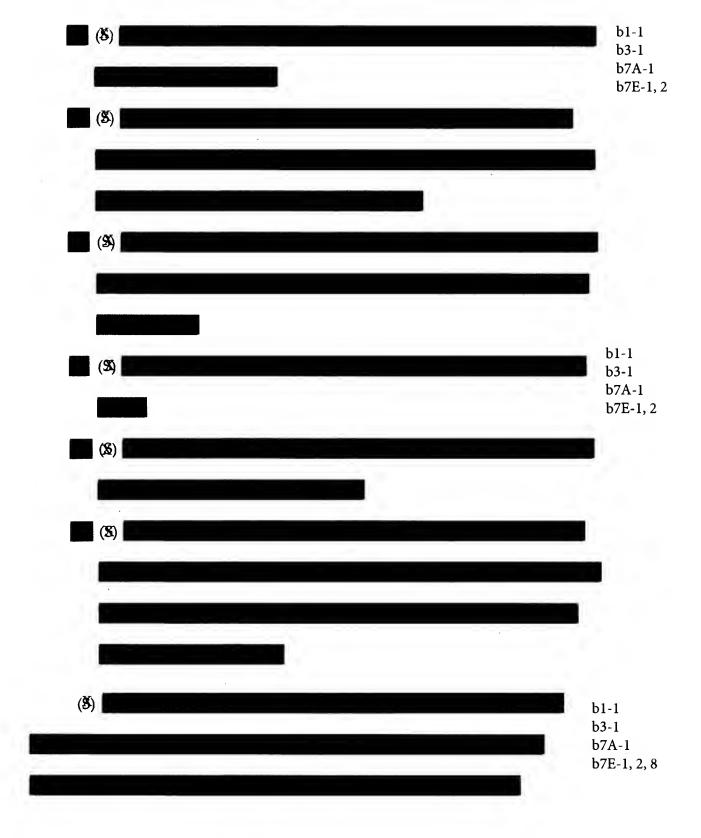
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

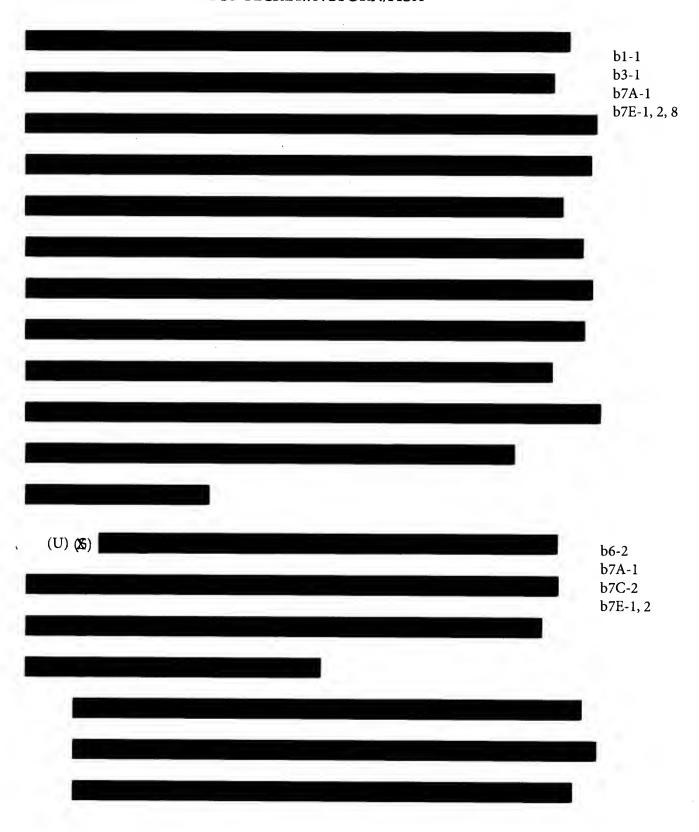
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type

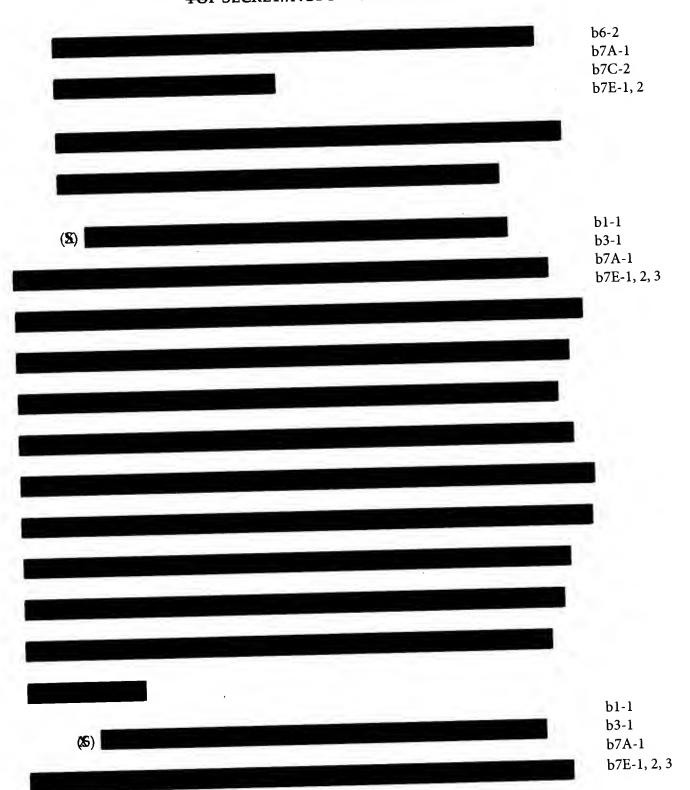
of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot

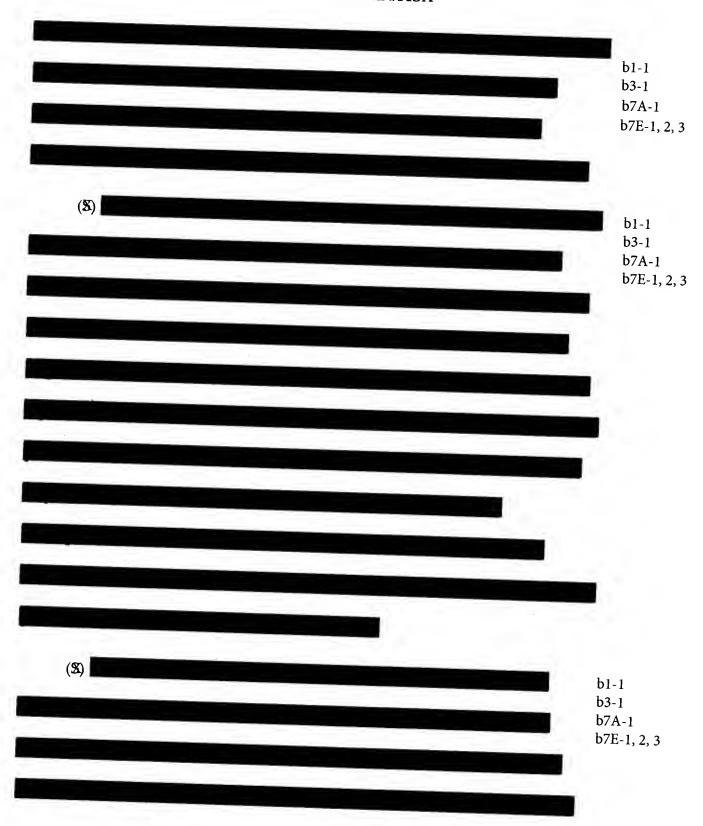
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b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



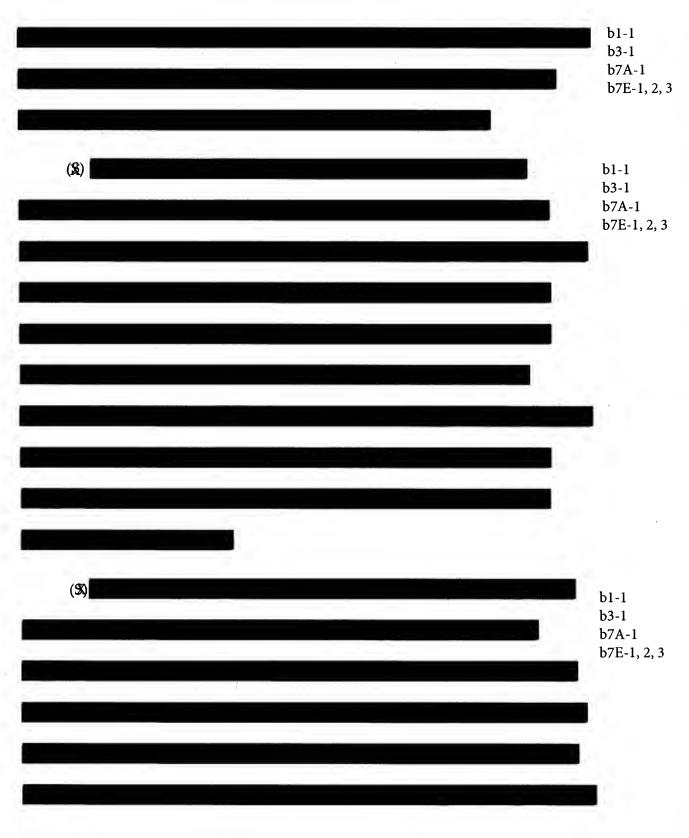


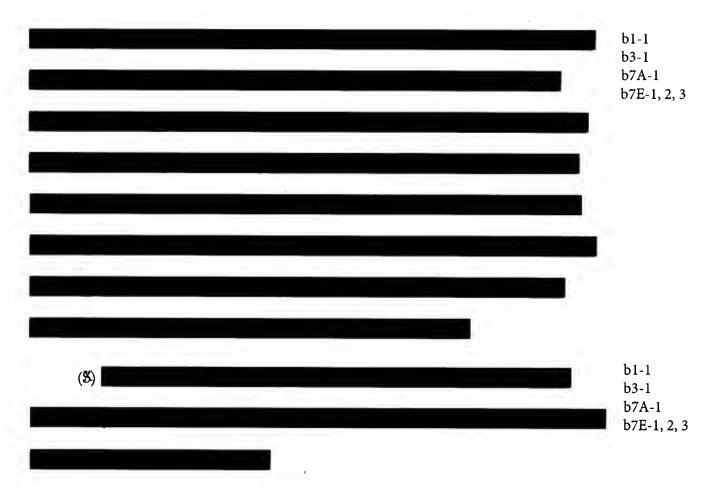






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(U) (§) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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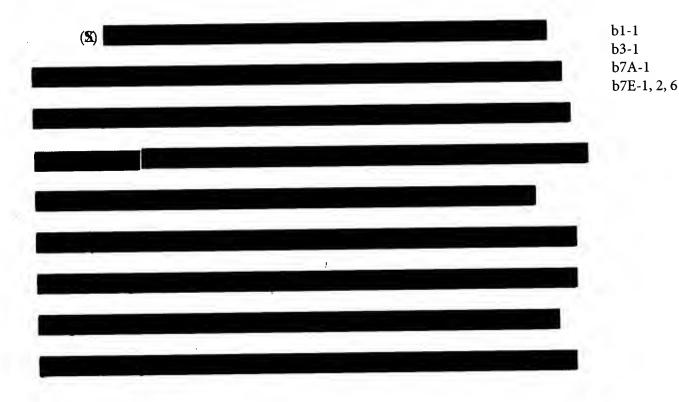
(S) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended.

James B. Comey Director Federal Bureau of Investigation	John F. Kerry Secretary of State
Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director Federal Bureau of Investigation	Antony J. Blinken Deputy Secretary of State
John O. Brennan Director of the Central Intelligence Agency	Ash Carter Secretary of Defense
James R. Clapper, Jr. Director of National Intelligence	Susan E. Rice Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Stephanie O'Sullivan Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, TOP SECRET//NOFORN/FISA certify that this document is a true and correct copy -76- of the original.

# (U) APPROVAL

(U) (3) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



W. Page with the Co	ourt,	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1
	Loretta E. Lynch Attorney General of the United States  Sally Quillian Yates  Deputy Attorney General of the United States	-
17 Date	Assistant Attorney General for National Security	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

(U) (\$) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,	
	b6-3 b7A-1
	b7C-3
Attorney	
U.S. Department of Justice	

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

Classify By: J23J98T32

Reason: (C)

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 01 -2017

Declassify On:

SECRET

Filed United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.

UNITED STATES

2017 JAN .

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LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk of Court

b7A-1

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

Docket Number:

PERSON

b1-1

b3-1 b7A-1

# PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50

U.S.C. §§ FISA or the Act), for an order and warrant

(hereinafter "order") for and full

consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds

as follows:

b1-1

b3-1

b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the Attorney General;



3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

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Derived from:

Application to the USFISC

in Docket Number captioned above

b1-1

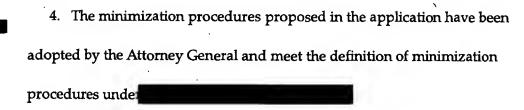
Declassify on:

b3-1

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign

b7A-1

b7E-1, 2



b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

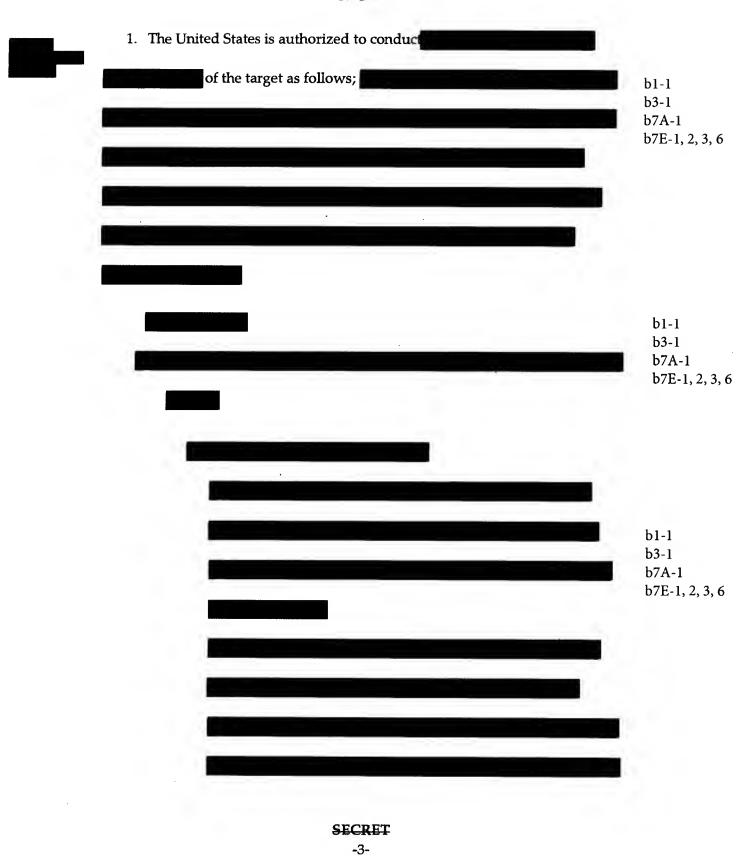
5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis  $b_{1-1}$   $b_{3-1}$  of the statements made under  $a_{1}$  and  $a_{2}$   $b_{3}$   $b_{2}$   $b_{3}$   $b_{4}$   $b_{5}$   $b_{5}$   $b_{5}$   $b_{5}$   $b_{7}$   $b_{$ 

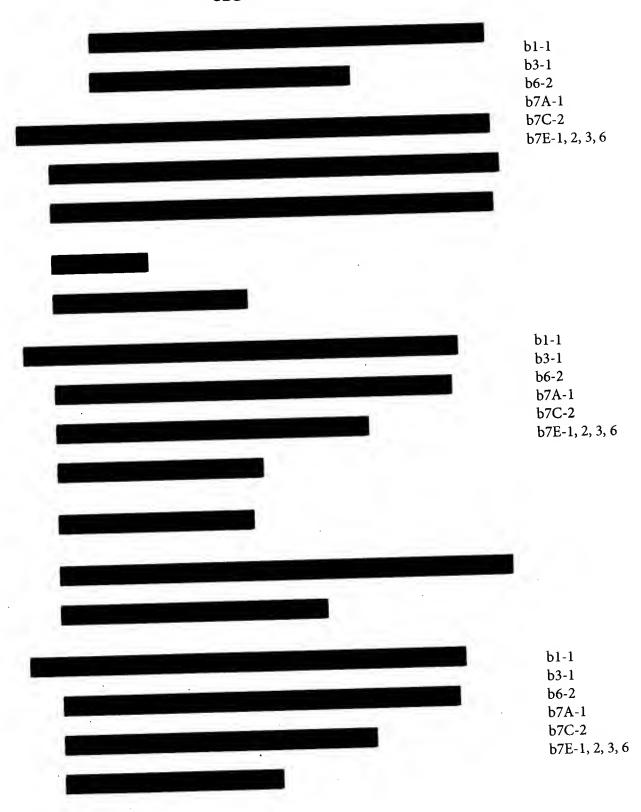
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

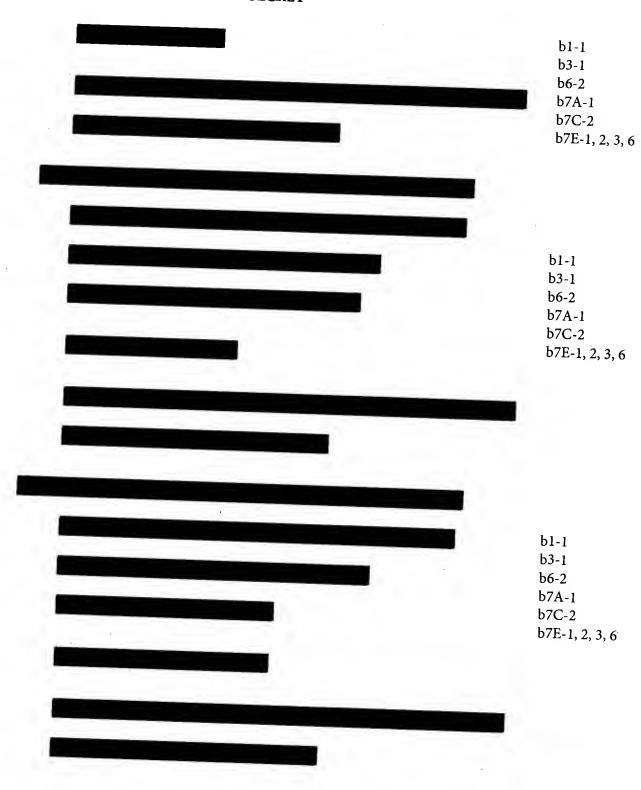
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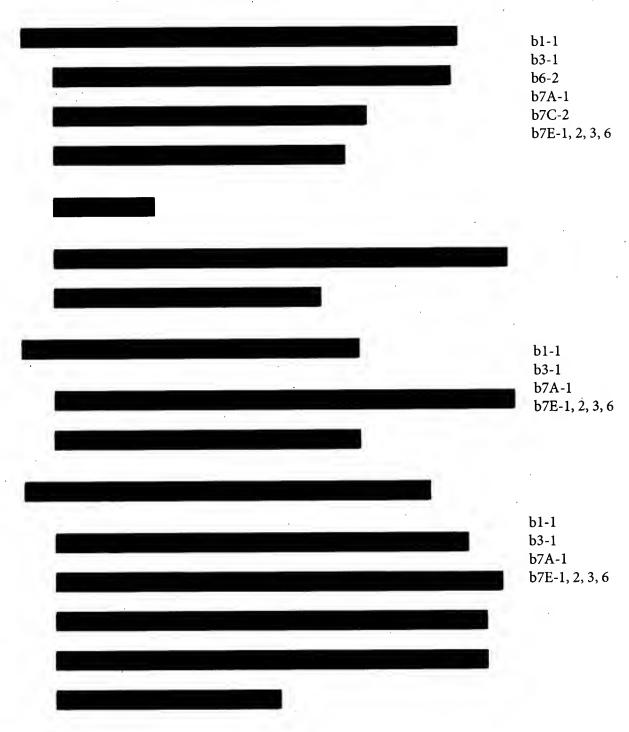
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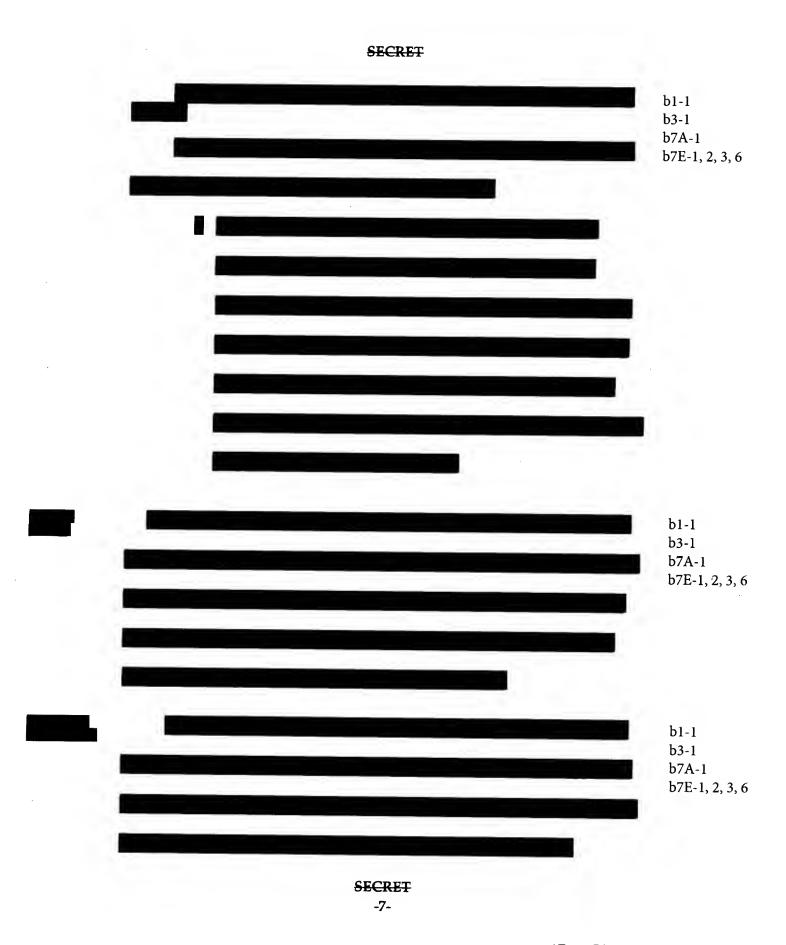
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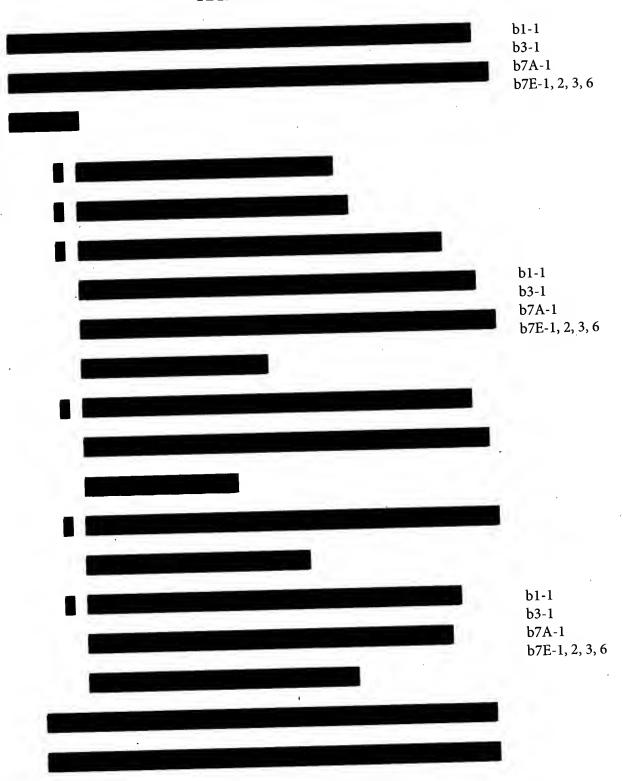
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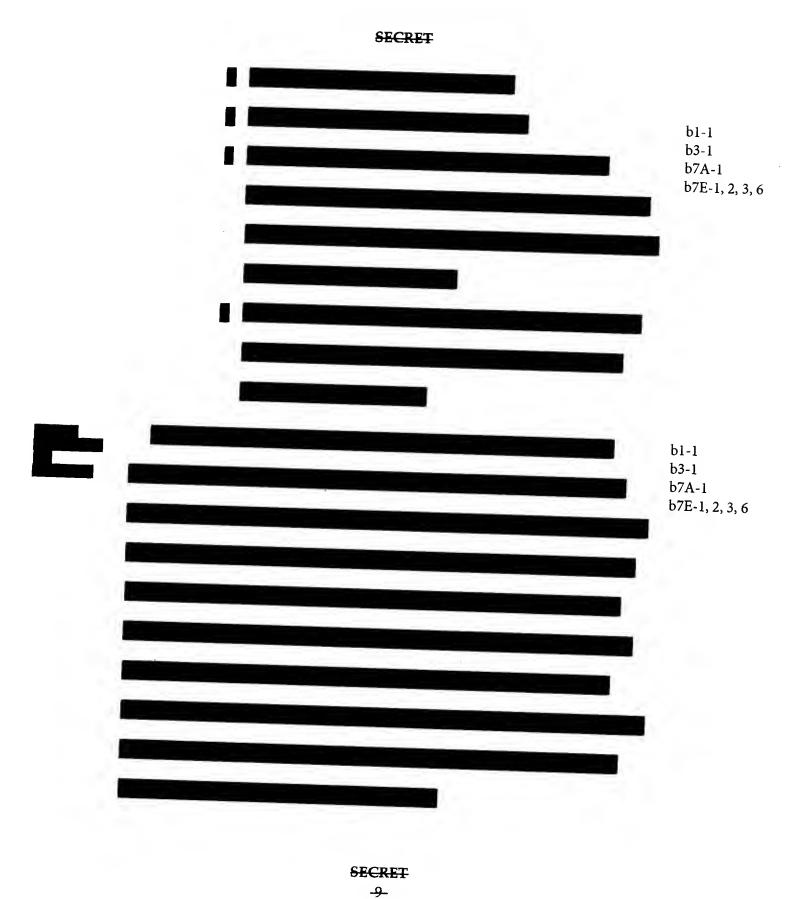
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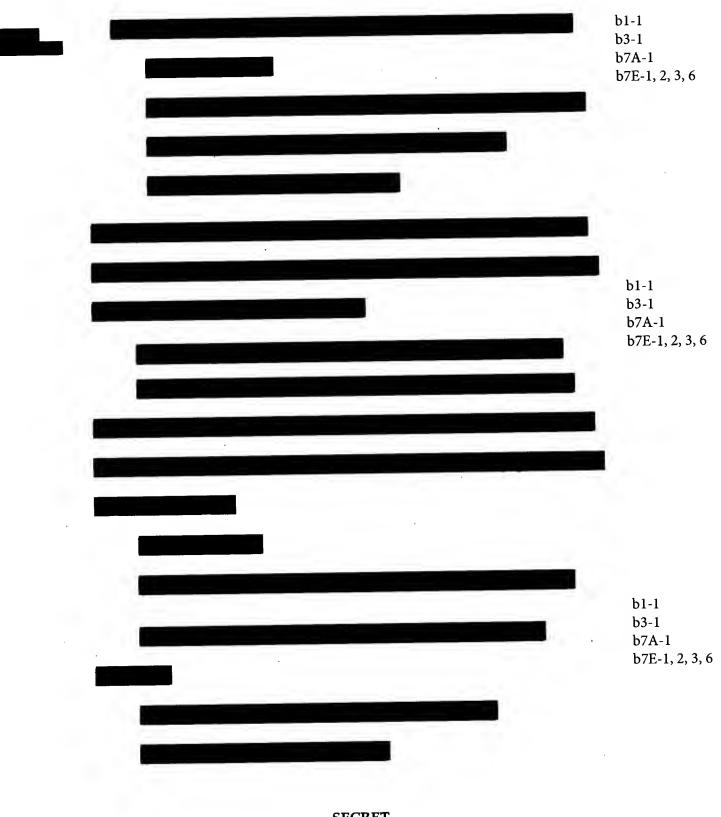




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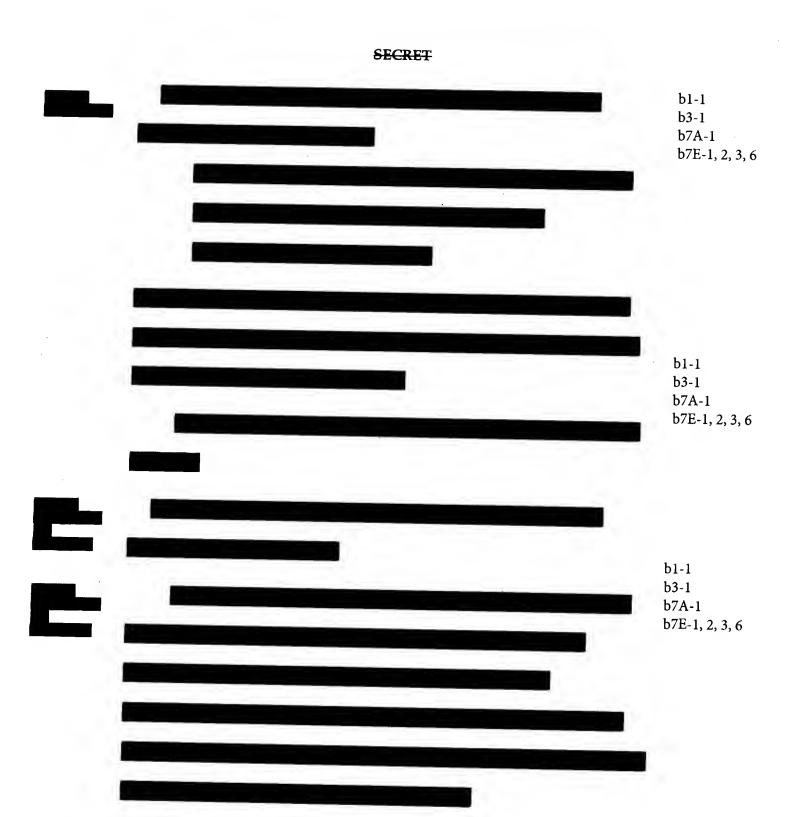
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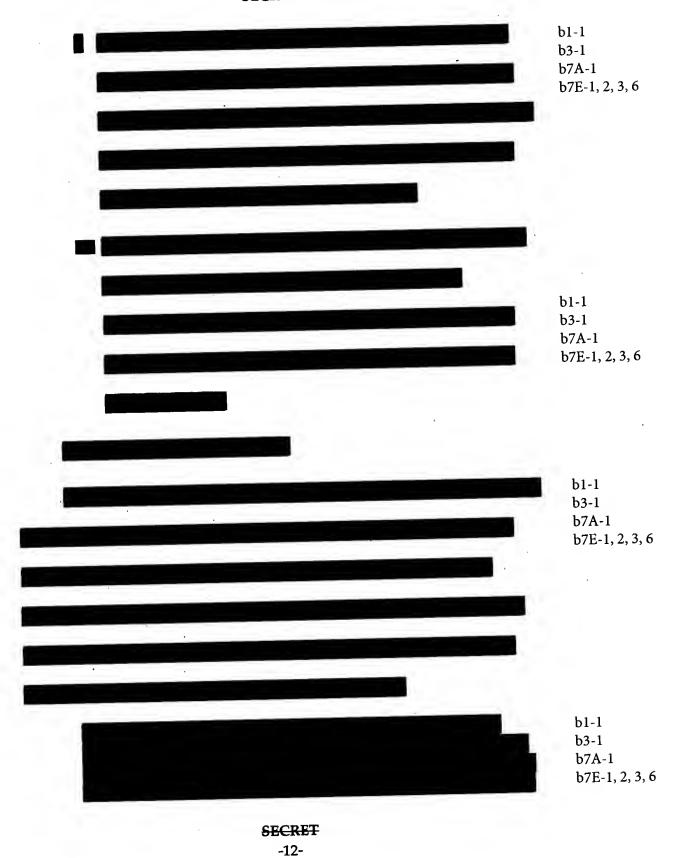


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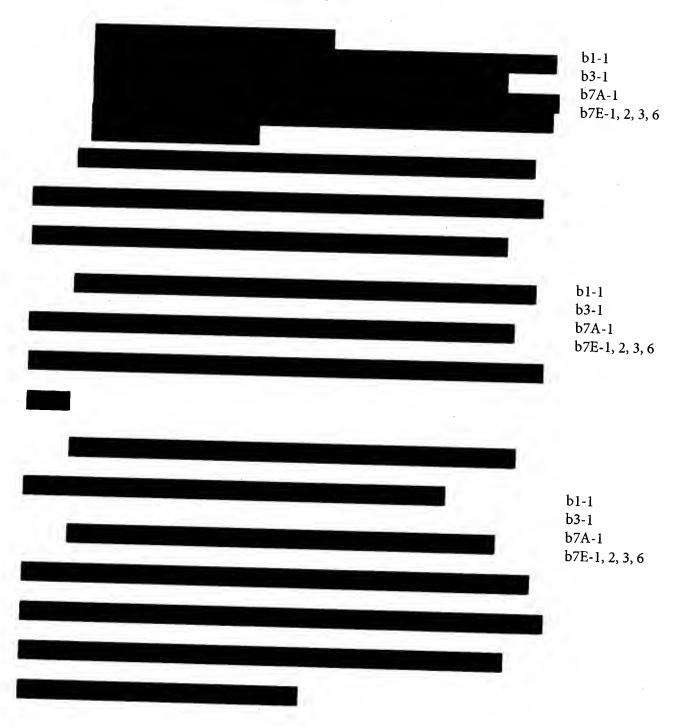
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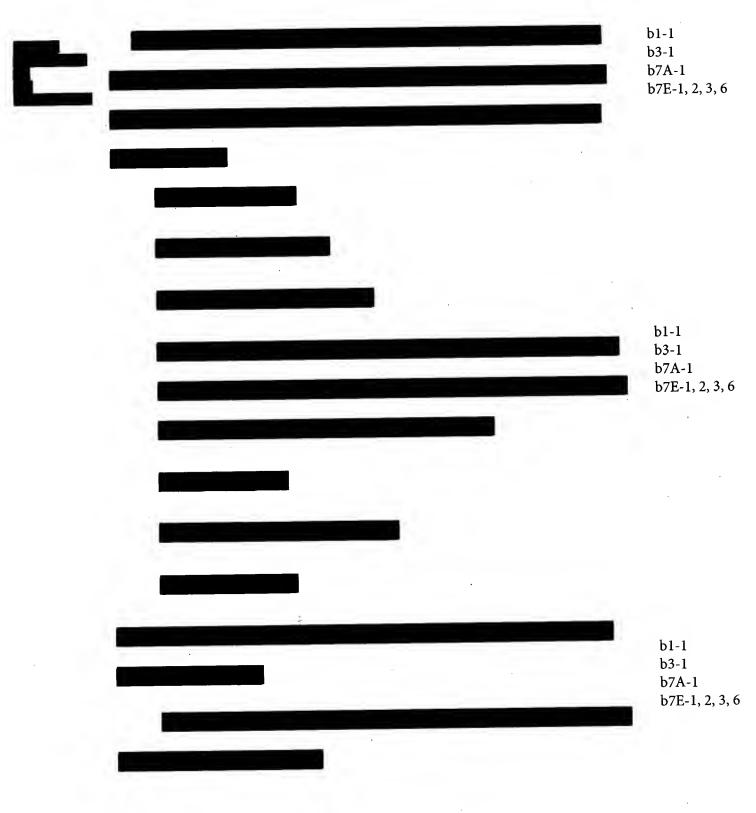




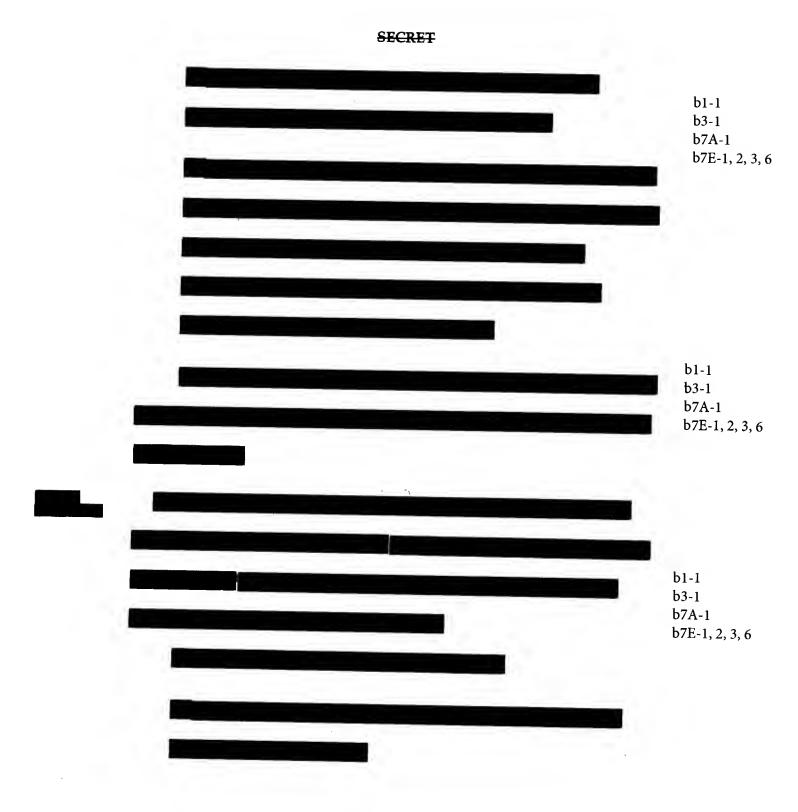


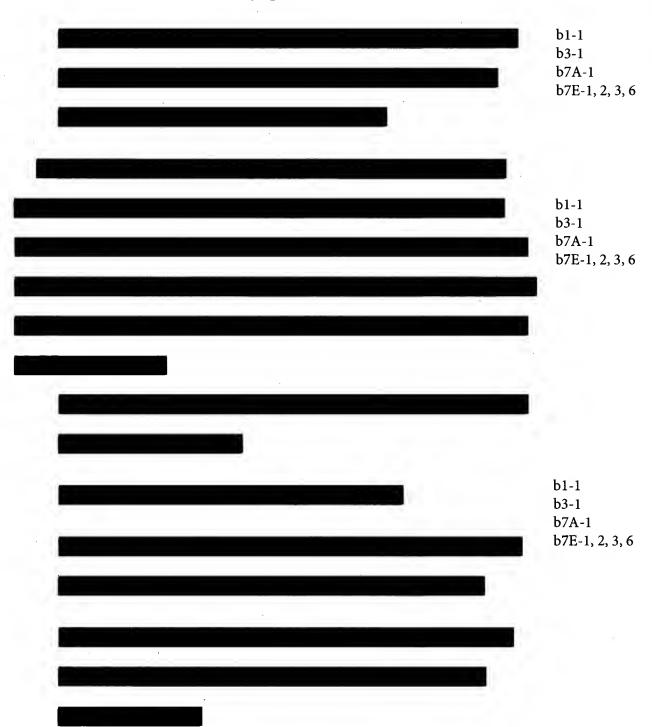
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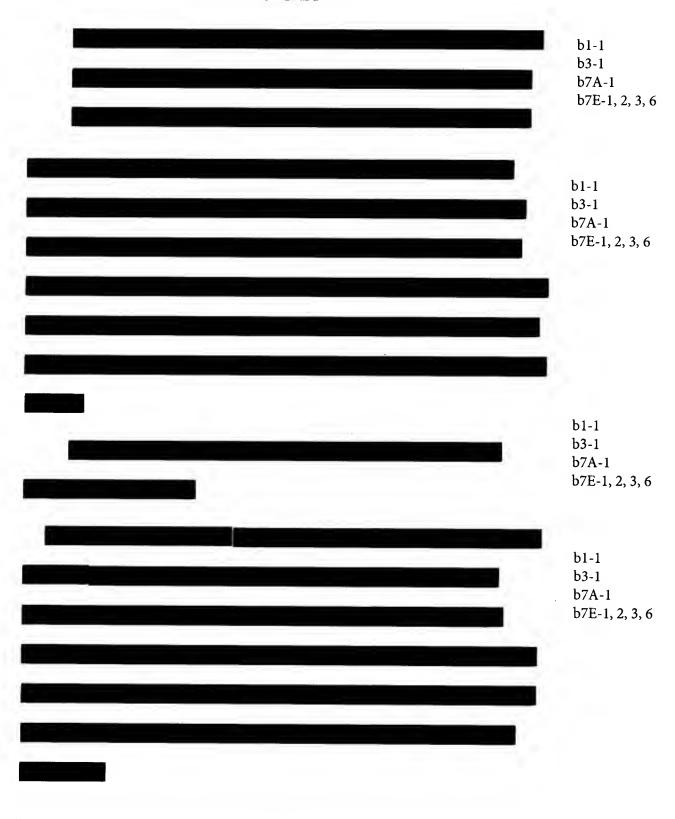
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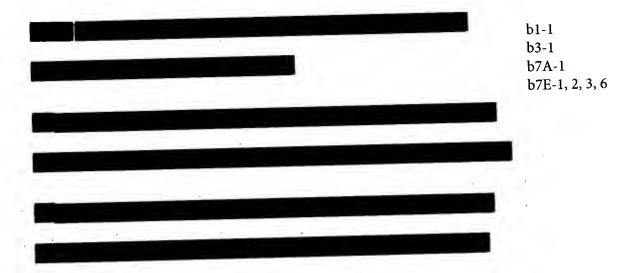
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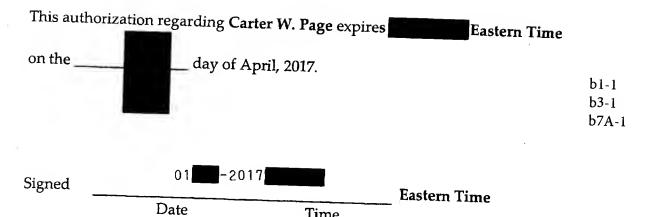
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Time

Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

FISC, castly helpine countent to a true and correct according to original.

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All information is considered
unclassified except where
otherwise shown.

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

Classify By: J23J98T32

**UNITED STATES** 

Reason: (C)

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

2017

Declassify On:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CLEAK TH

(S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

PERSON.

Docket Number:

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

## (U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

(S) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to conduc as described herein, pursuant b1-1 b3-1 to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 States Code (U.S.C.), §§ FISA or the Act).



(U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is

b1-1 made by , a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau b3-1 b6-1 of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervision b7A-1 b7C-1 of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon information b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

officially furnished to

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Classified by: b1-1 Derived from: b3-1 b7A-1 Declassify on:

2. (X) <u>Identity of the Target</u> The target of this application is Carter W.

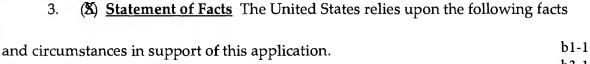
Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The status of the target was determined in or about December 2016 from information

provided by the U.S. Department of State.

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b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



b3-1

b7A-1

a. (§) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

- (3) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (§) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's (U) investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.
- (U) (X) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

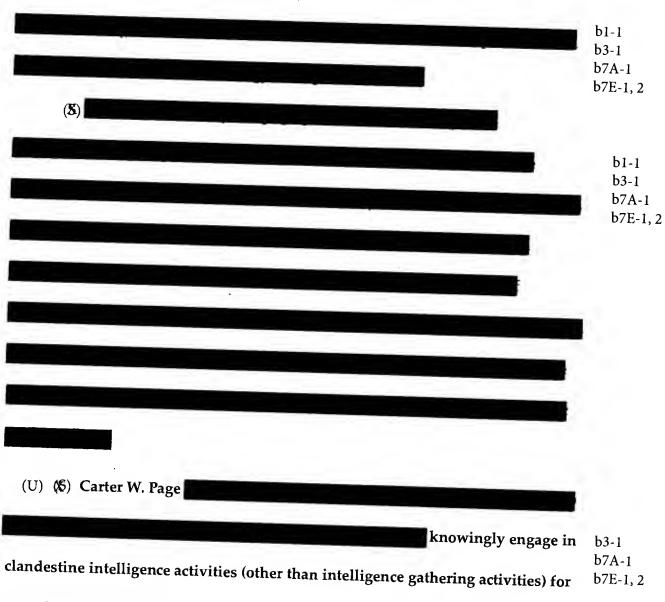
(U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in Permanent Missions to the United Nations, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(W) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation

(S)

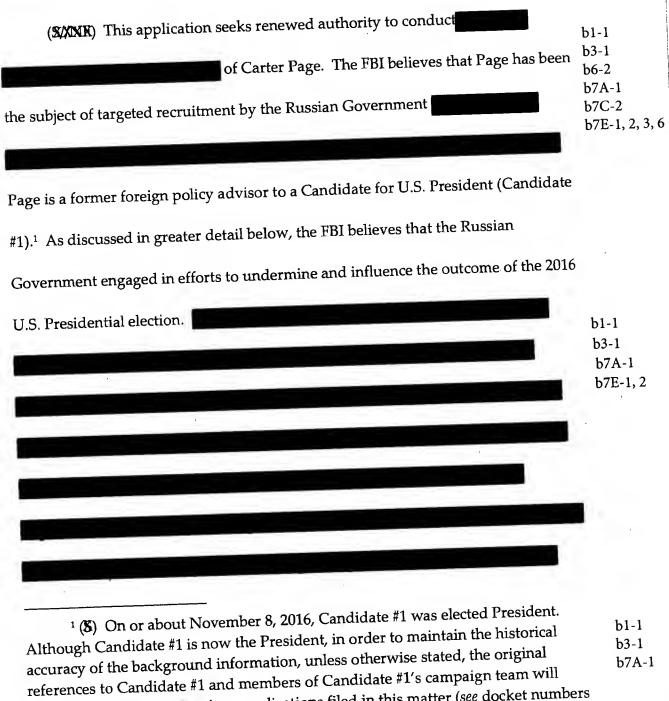
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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



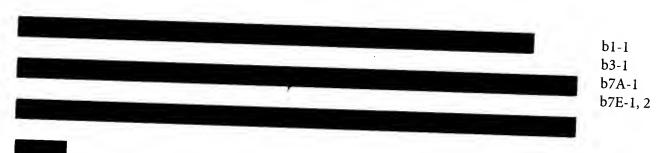
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

## I. (U) Overview.



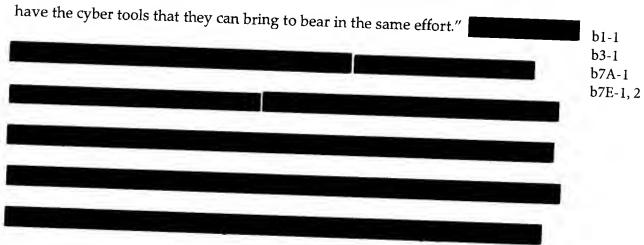
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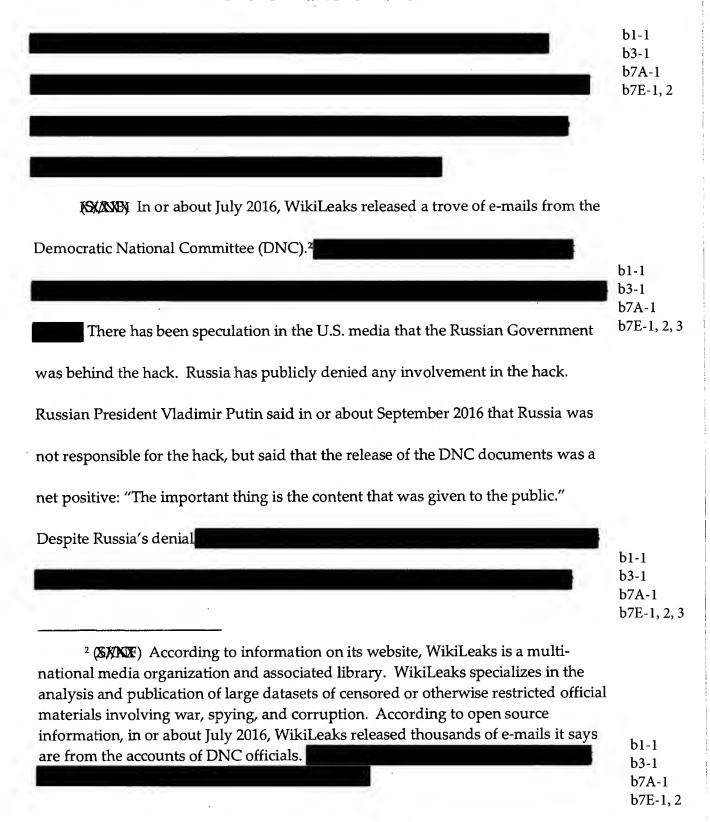
remain the same as in previous applications filed in this matter (see docket numbers



- II. (U) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.
  - (U) A. XXXXF) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

organization, the then Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The then DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The then DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they





b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of

Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow – the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the U.S. Presidential

Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].

(SYNXX) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence U.S. and foreign elections, b1-1 and the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 with Carter Page to attempt to undermine and improperly and illegally influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. (U) b7A-1 b7E-1, 2As stated in the legislative history of FISA:

Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

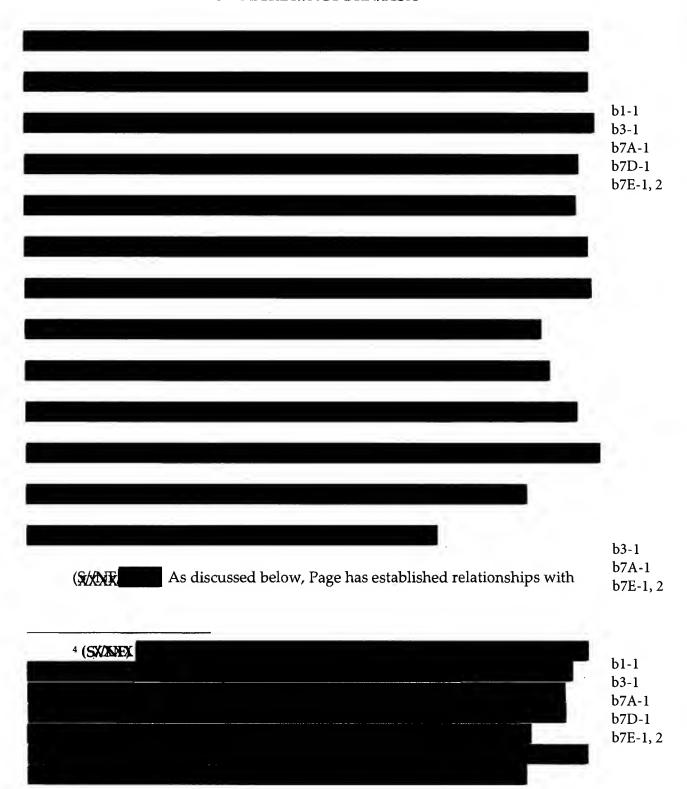
(U) B. XSXXXX The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(SX/XXEX). In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos<sup>3</sup> and Carter Page (the

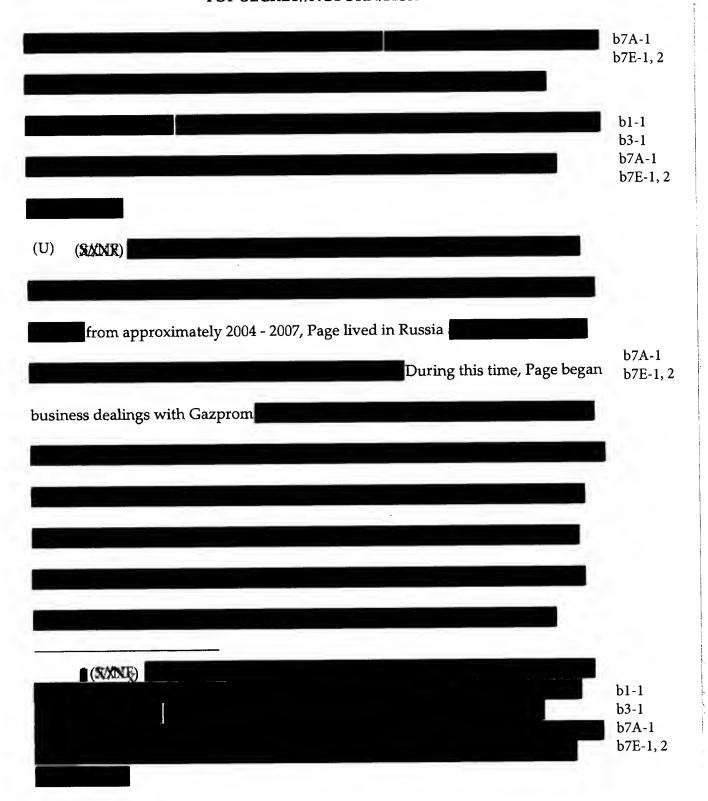
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her b1-1 foreign policy team. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 , the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 <sup>3</sup> (**X**) b3-1 b7A-1

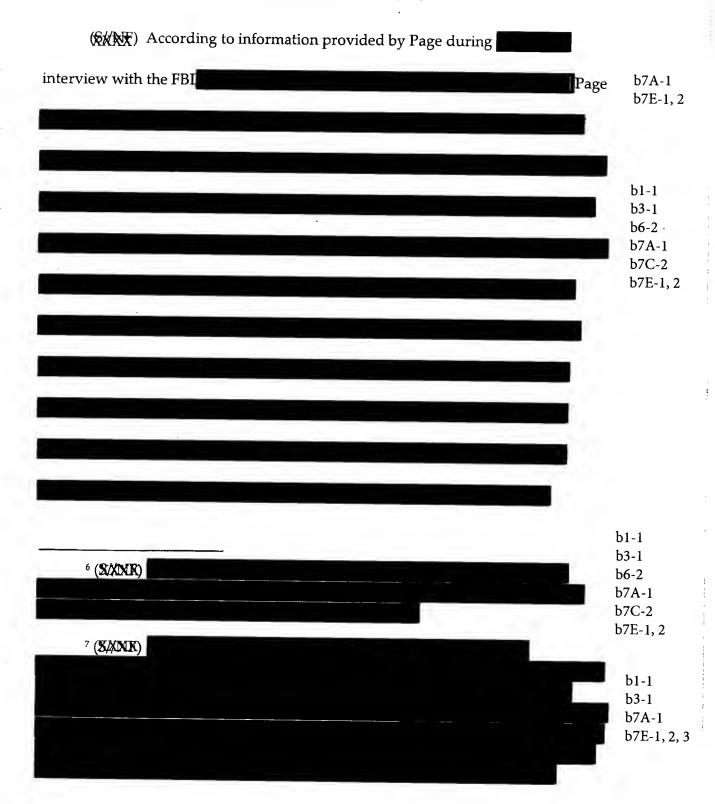
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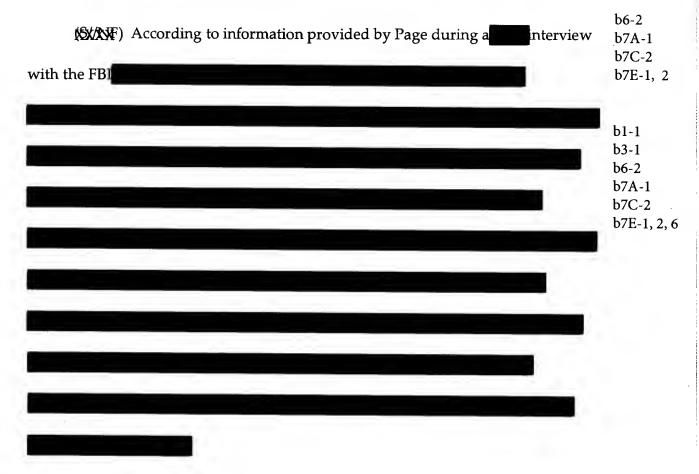
b7E-1, 2



b7E-1, 2  b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3  III. (U)(\$) Carter Page.  (U) A. (\$) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (\$\mathcal{XANK}\) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	b7A-1 b7D-1
III. (U)(S) Carter Page.  (U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (SUNCE) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		b7E-1, 2
III. (U)(S) Carter Page.  (U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (SUNTE) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (S/ANK) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		b3-1 b7A-1
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (S/ANK) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (S/ANK) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (S/ANK) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		
A. (8) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.  (STANK) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global  Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	III.(U)(%) Carter Page.	
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		
	(XXXX) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global	
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets	Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
rocuses on the energy sector primarily in energing markets.	focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	
b7A-1 b7E-1, 2		

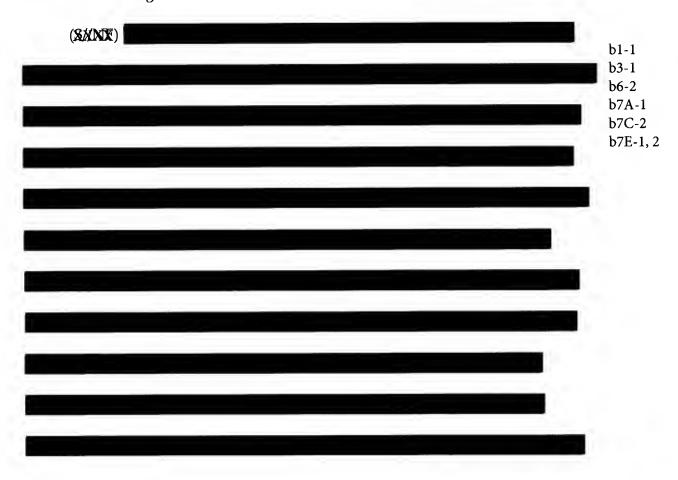




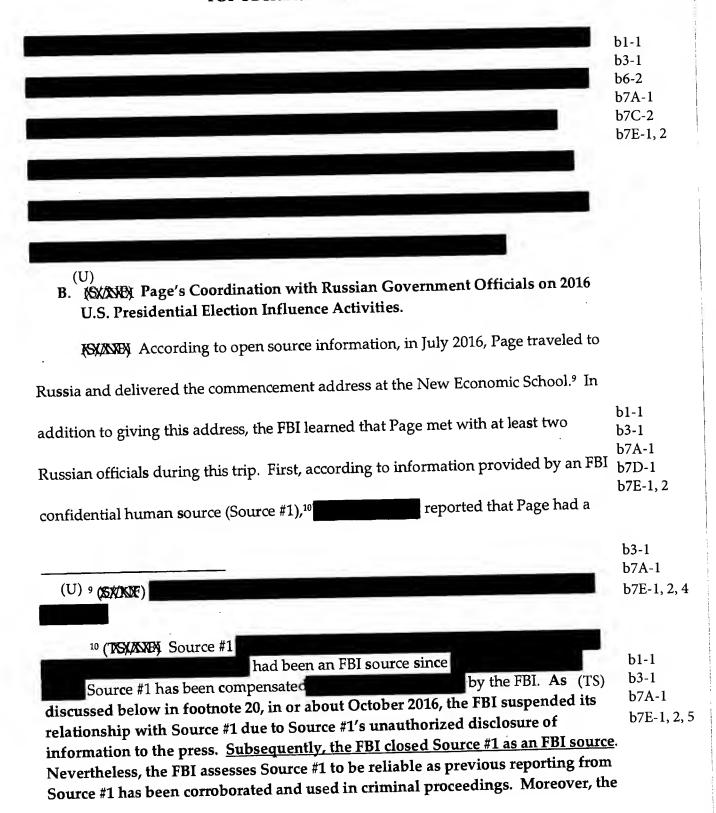


(U) (SANK) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government). According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

Russia.<sup>8</sup> The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



<sup>(</sup>U) <sup>8</sup> (SANF) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison. According to information provided by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Buryakov was released on March 31, 2017.



FBI notes that the incident that led the FBI to terminate its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

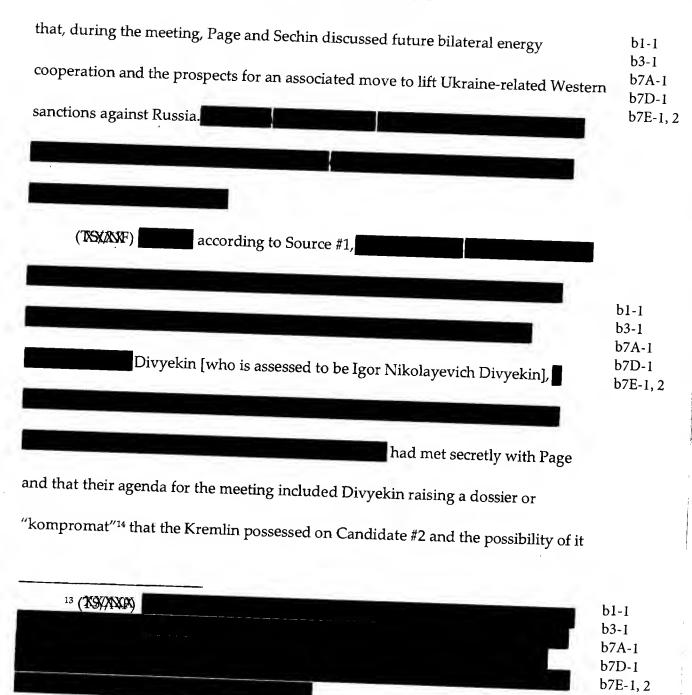
- (U) (TSWARY Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.
- (U) KINSKINF) Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 (KS//MXX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history b1-1 with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI b3-1 believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible. b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

b3-1 secret meeting with Igor Sechin, who is the President of Rosneft [a Russian energy b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 reported company] and a close associate to Russian President Putin. 12 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2b1-1 11 (XX/XXXX) b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

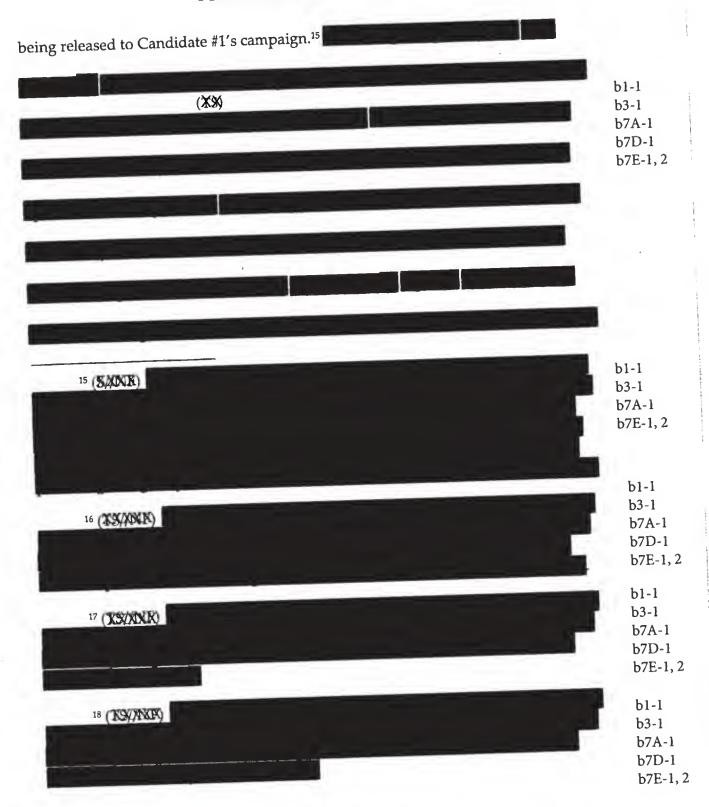
(USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin – a key component to his current standing."

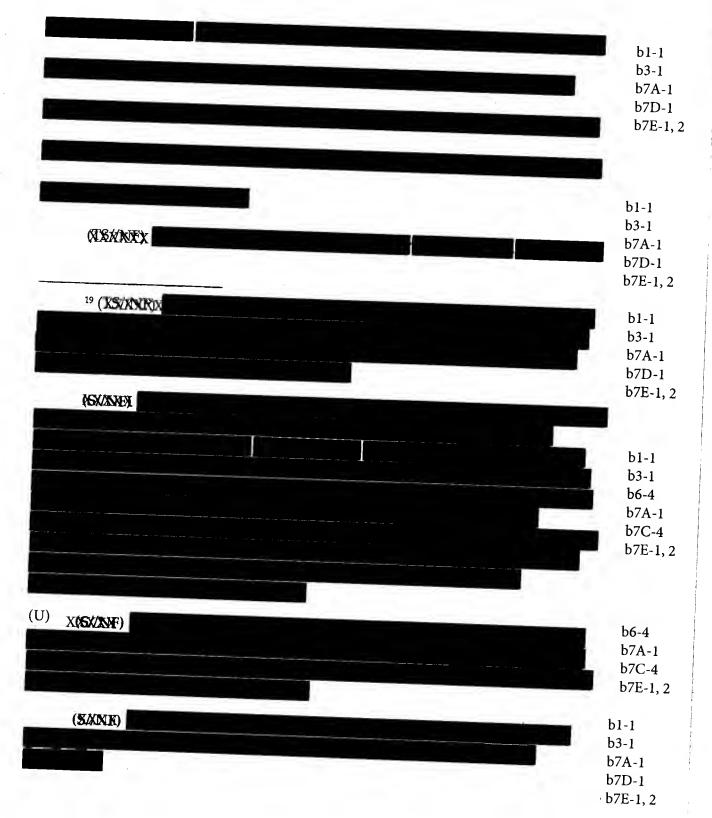
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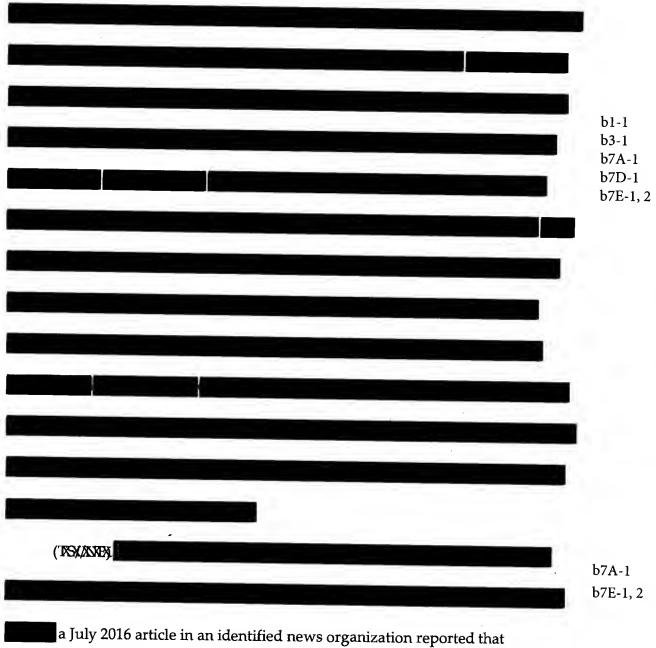
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(U) <sup>14</sup> (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.

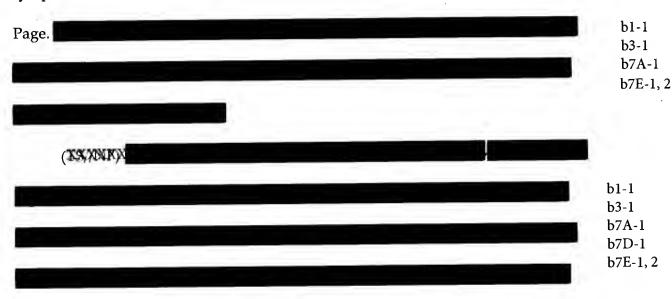






Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders

in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter



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# IV. (U) (SXAME) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(U) (SX/XXII) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as

deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.<sup>20</sup>

(U) (XXNX) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) (TSMNE) In or about late October 2016, however, after the Director of the FBI sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI has now closed Source #1 as an active source.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> (S) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was

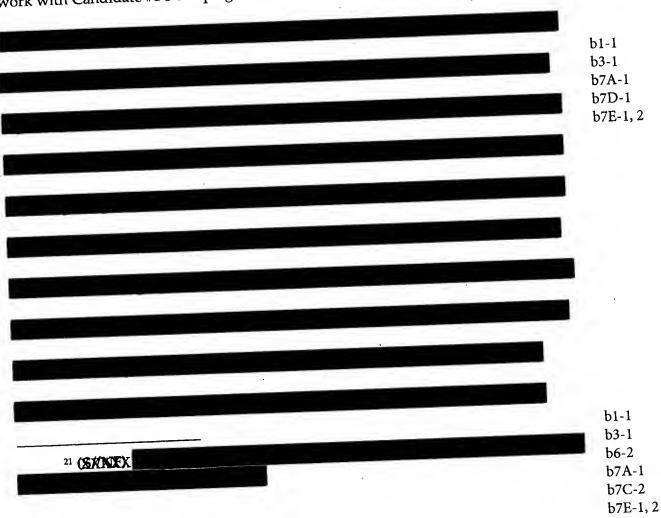
based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager. During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign . . . ."

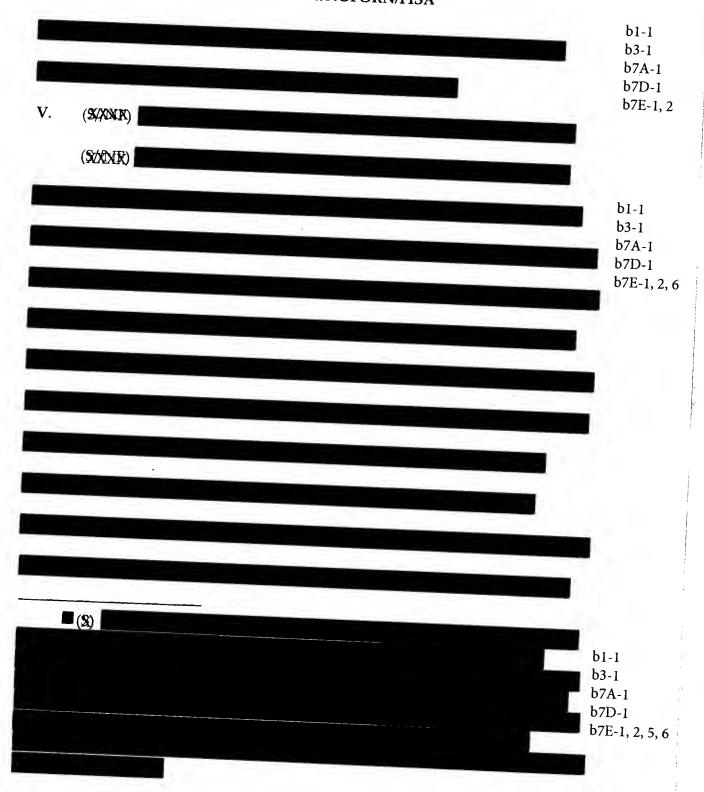
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(U) (SYAME) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss

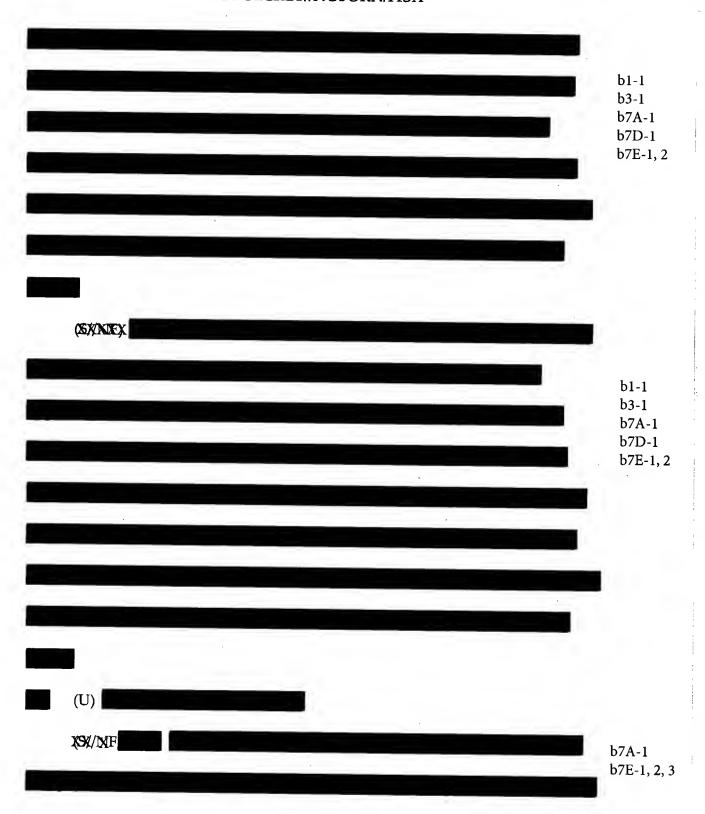
any "final" questions the FBI may have.21

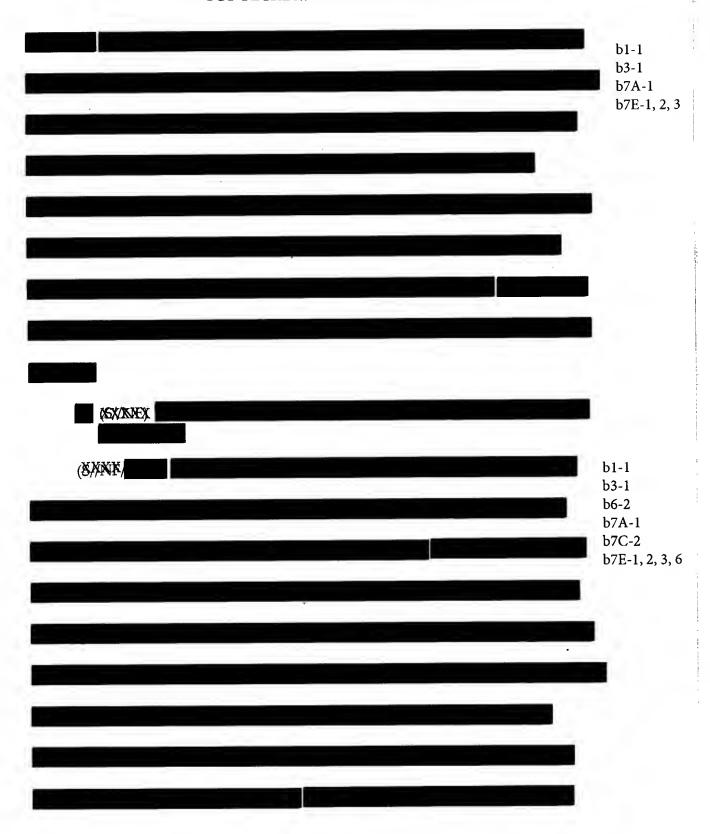
organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."



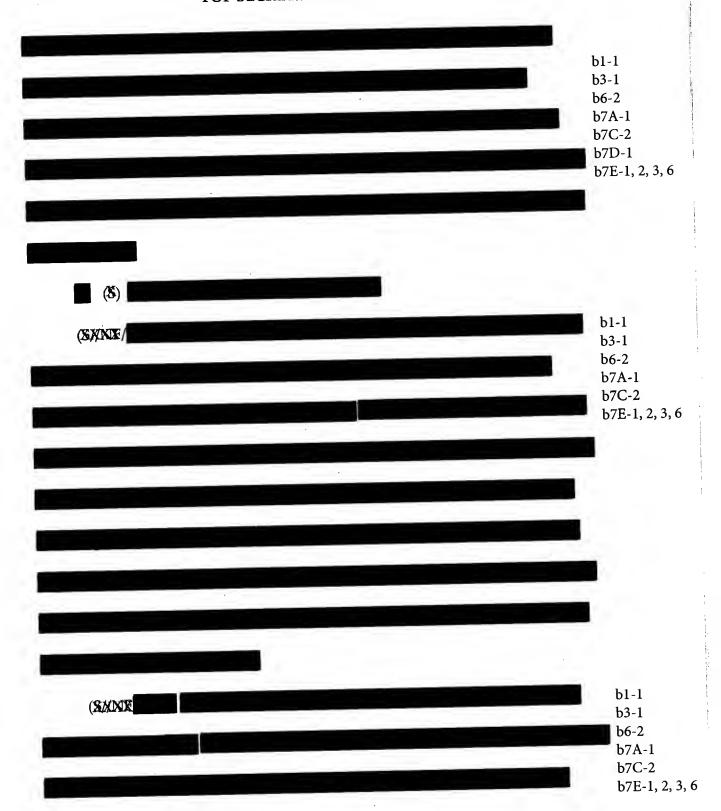


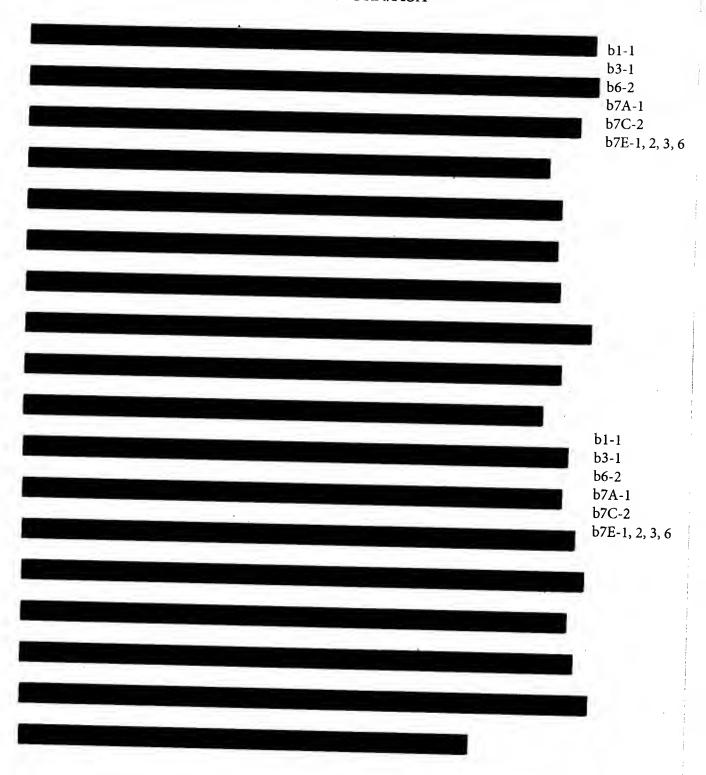
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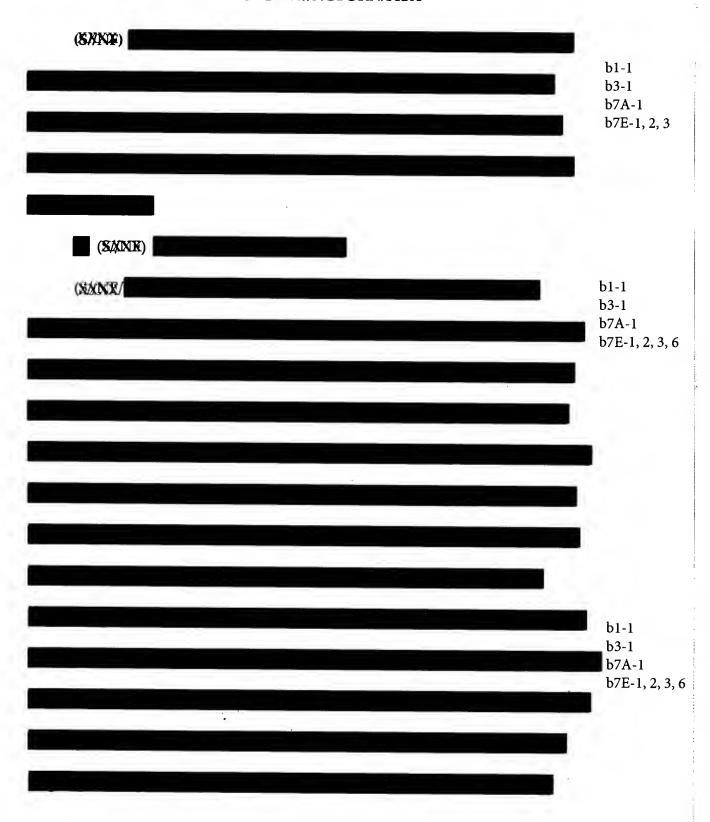


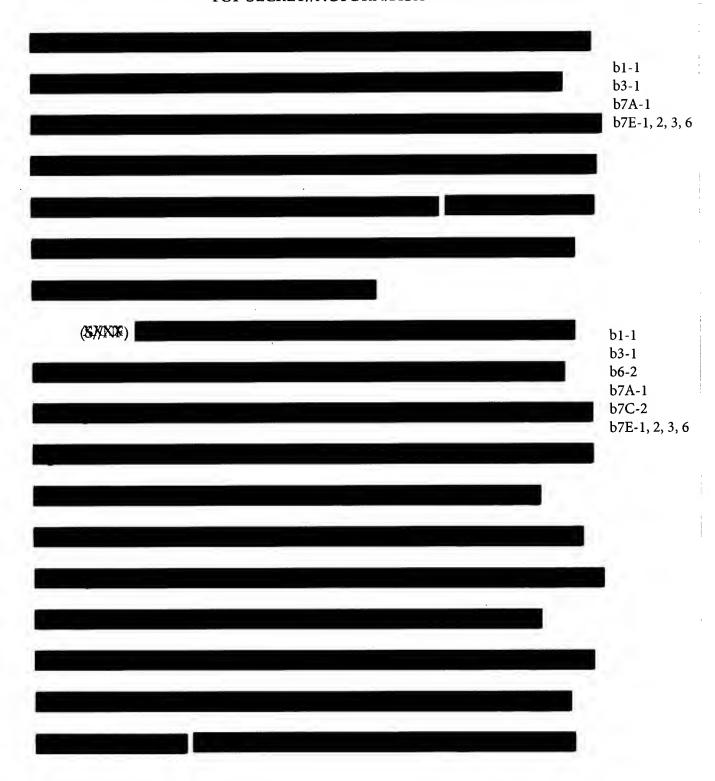


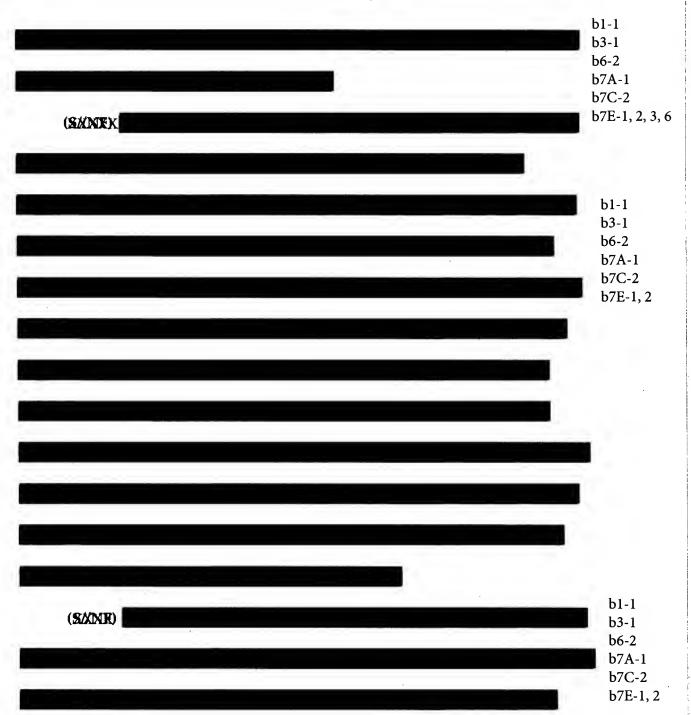
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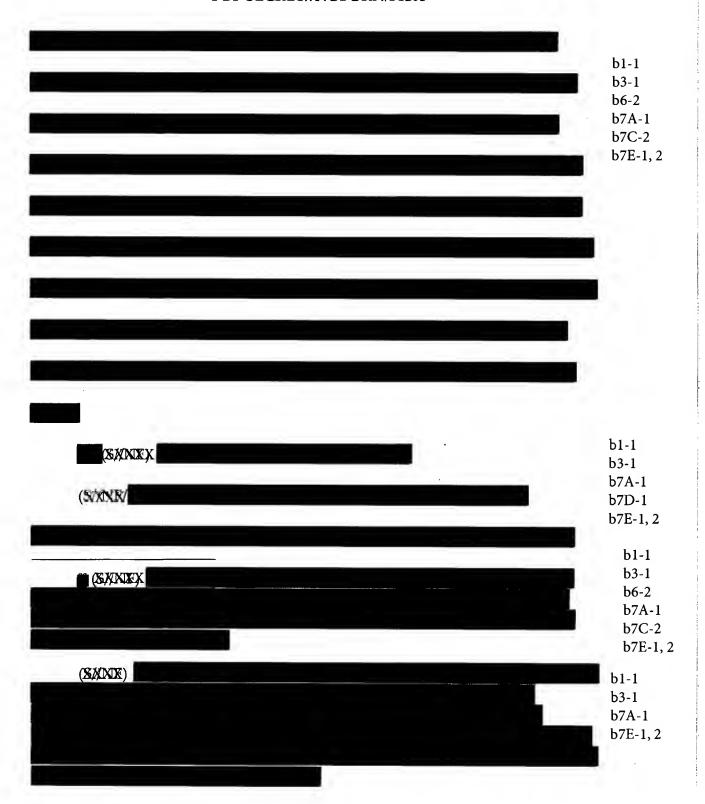


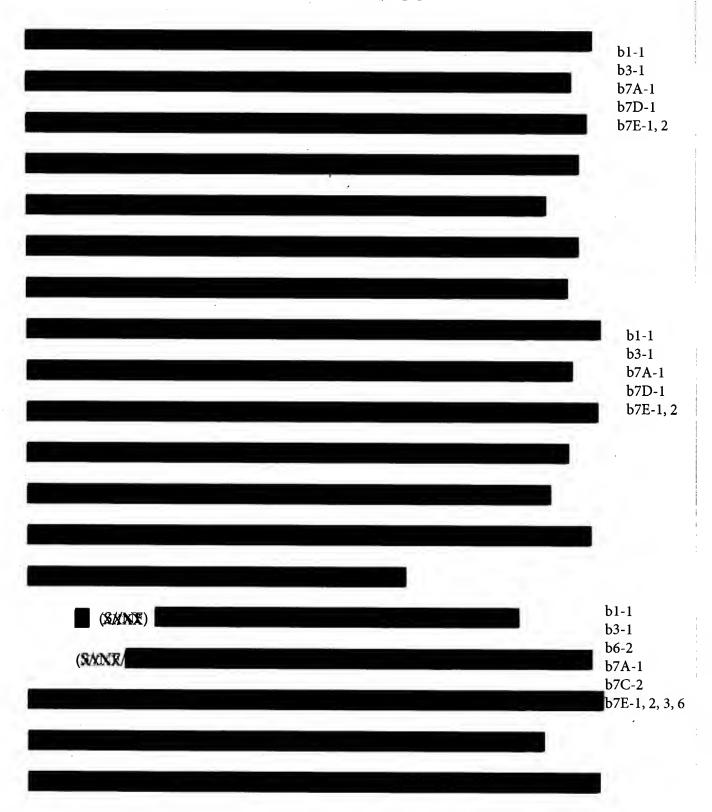


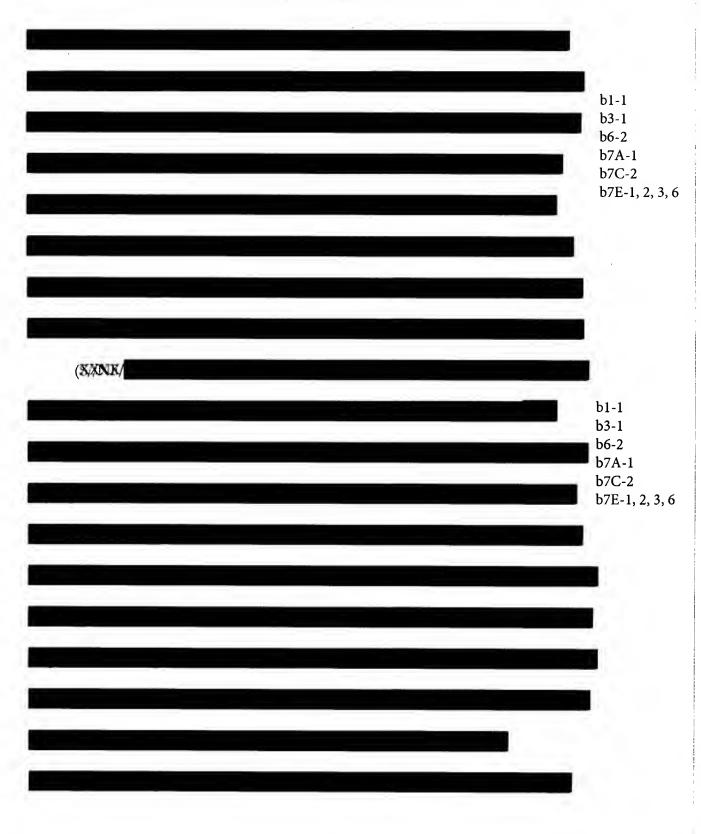


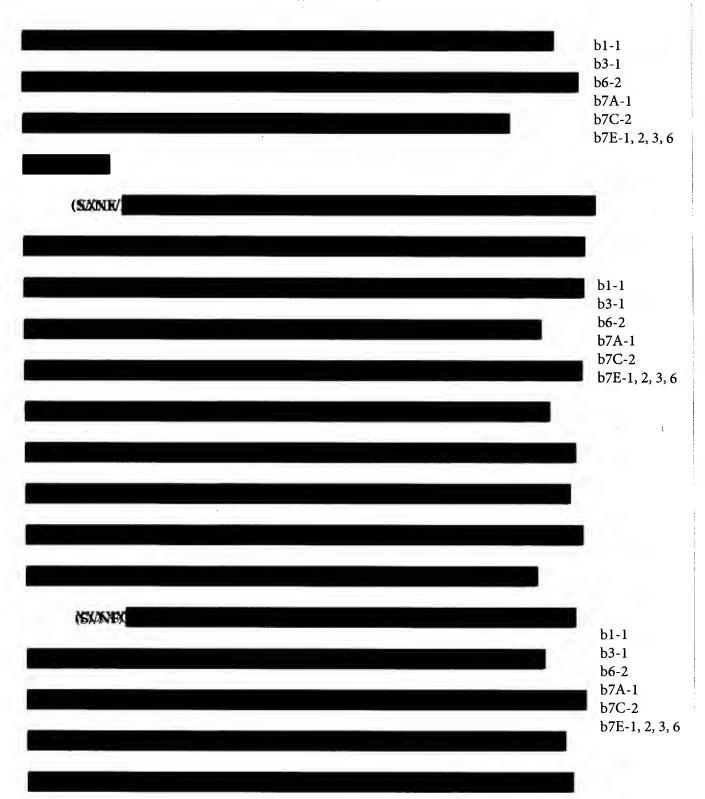


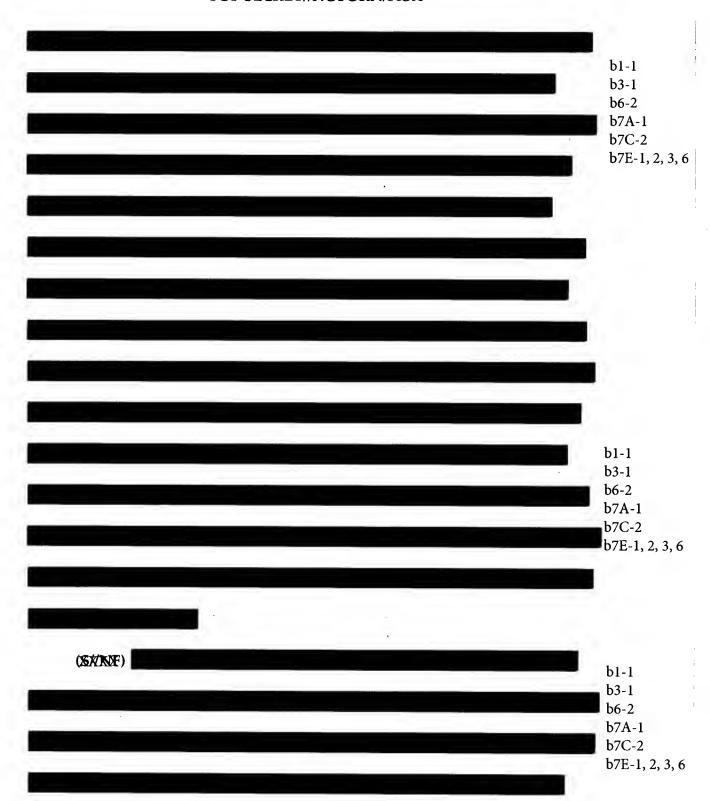


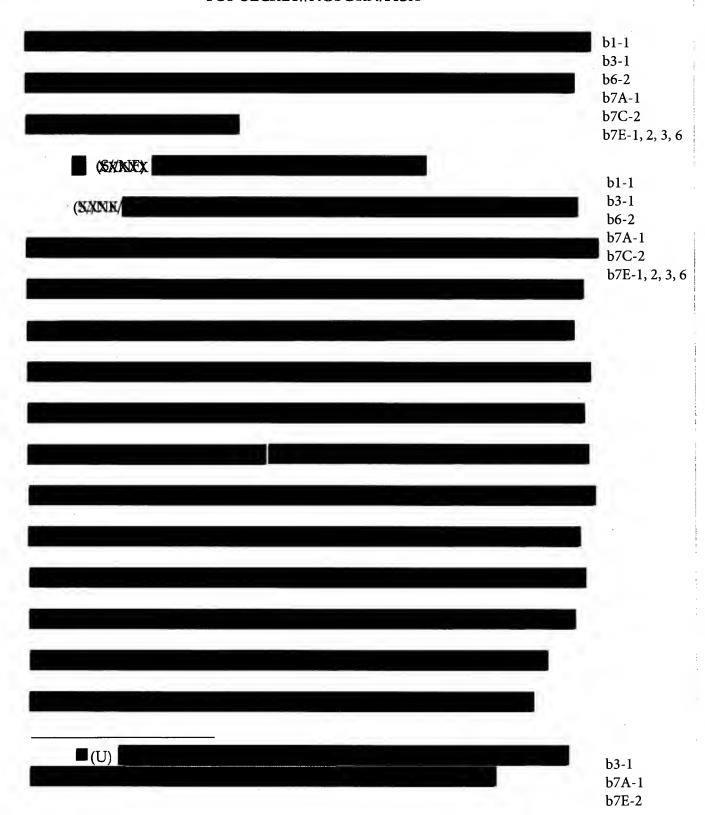


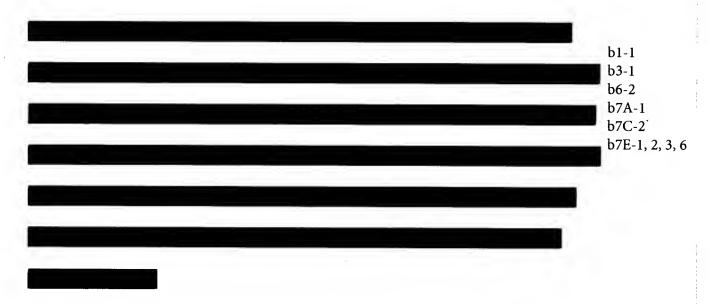












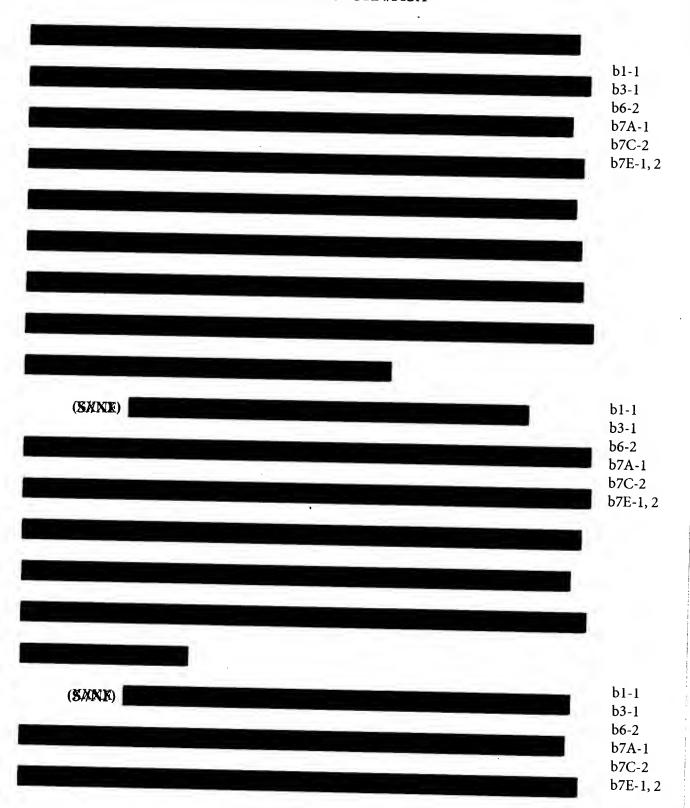
(U) G. (\$//NF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

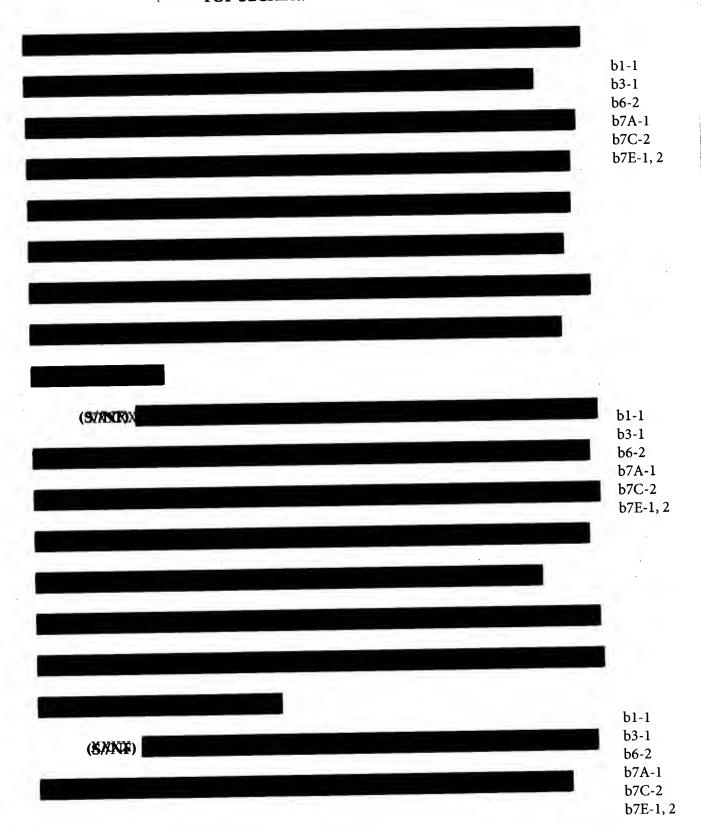
(SAXXXXIII) or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S.

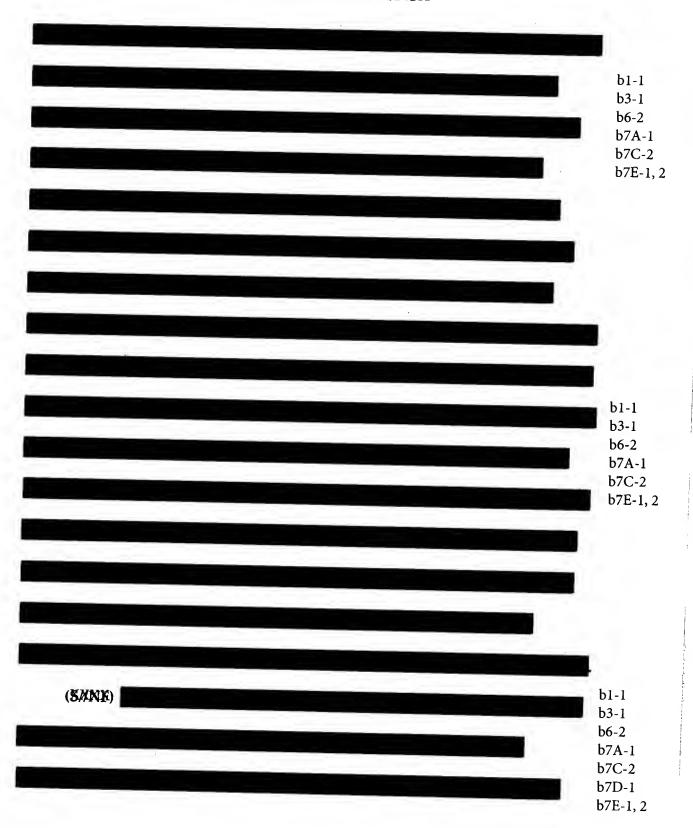
Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members of [Candidate #2's] campaign and their political allies last year." In his letter, Page claims that he has not directly supported a political campaign since September 2016, but continues to be subjected to personal attacks by former members of Candidate #2's campaign based on fictitious information. Page wrote that his academic lecture and related meetings with scholars and business people in Moscow had no connection to the U.S. election. Page attributes the assertions in the September 23rd News Article that Page met with two senior Russian officials

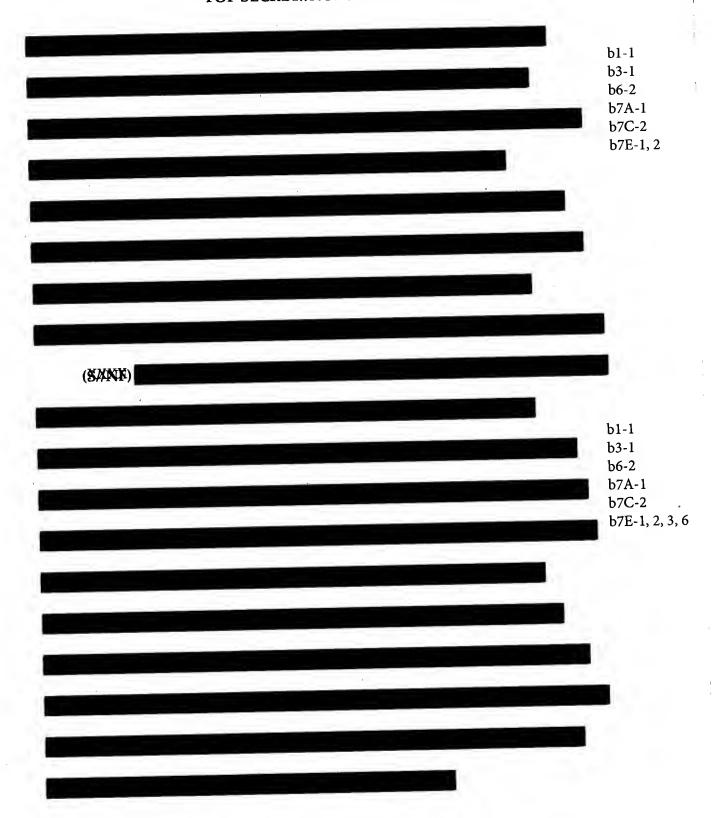
(i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate #2's campaign, certain members of the U.S. Congress, and the media are lies that were completely fabricated by Candidate #2's paid

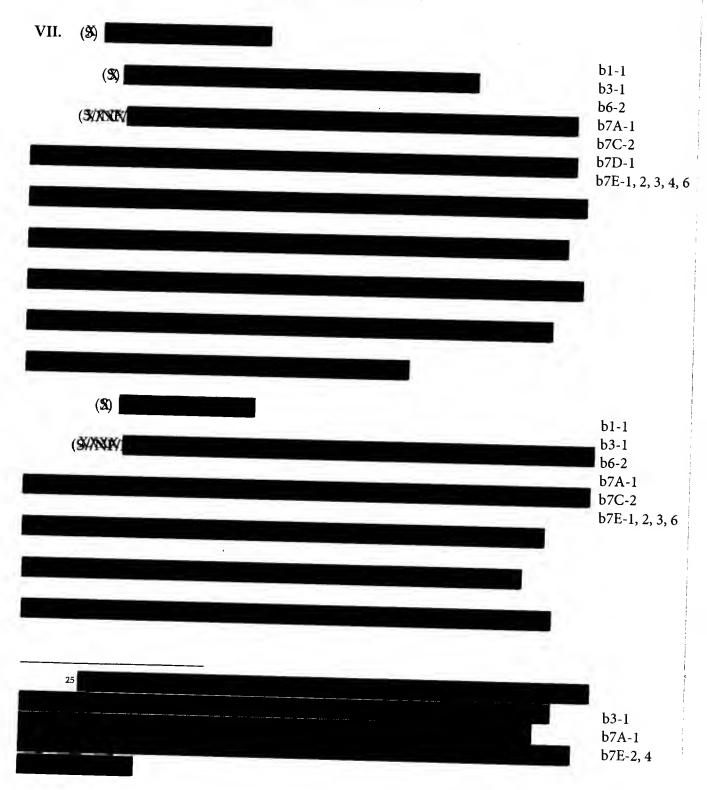
consultants and private investigators. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2

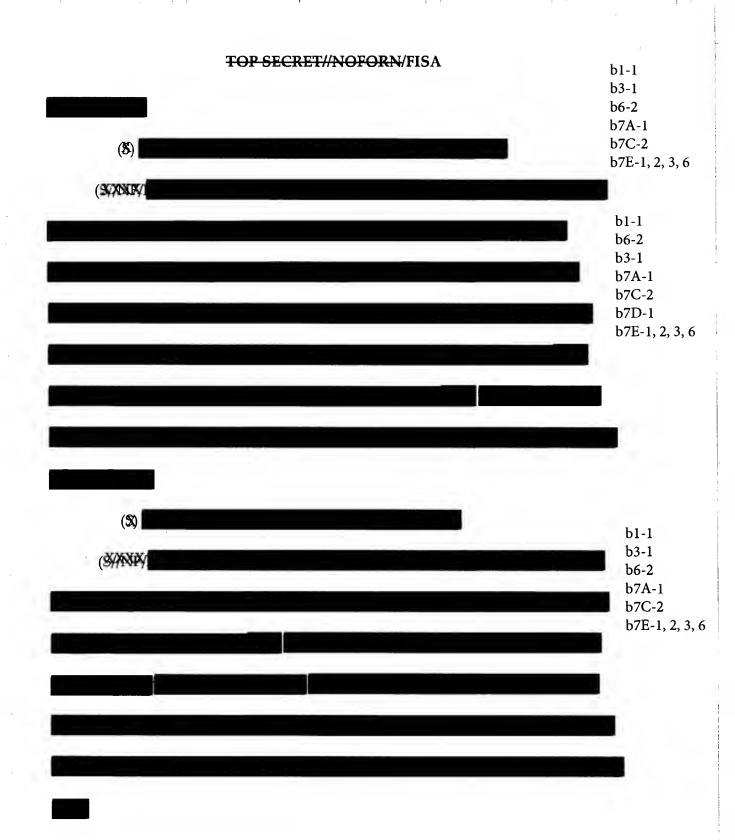


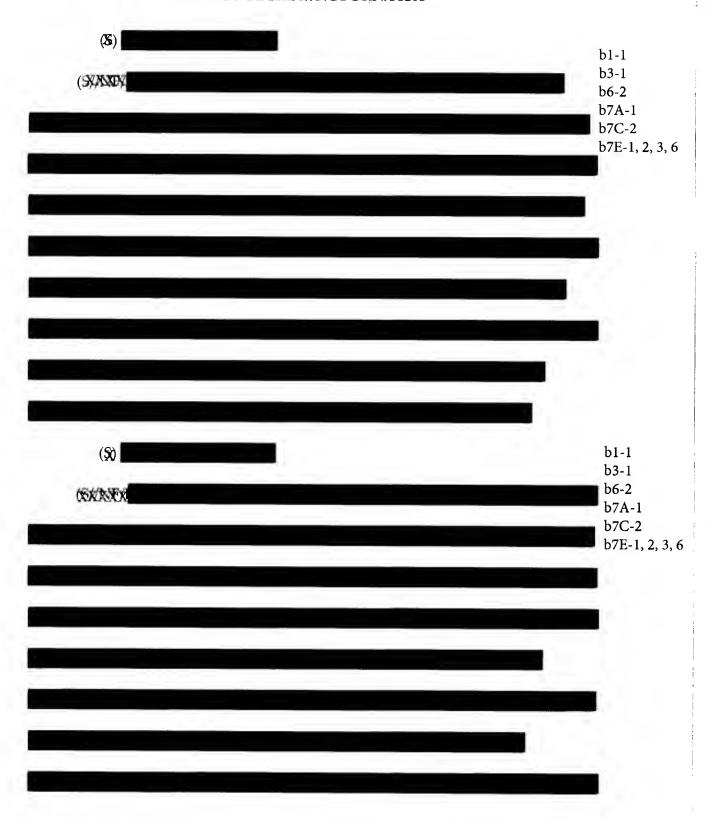


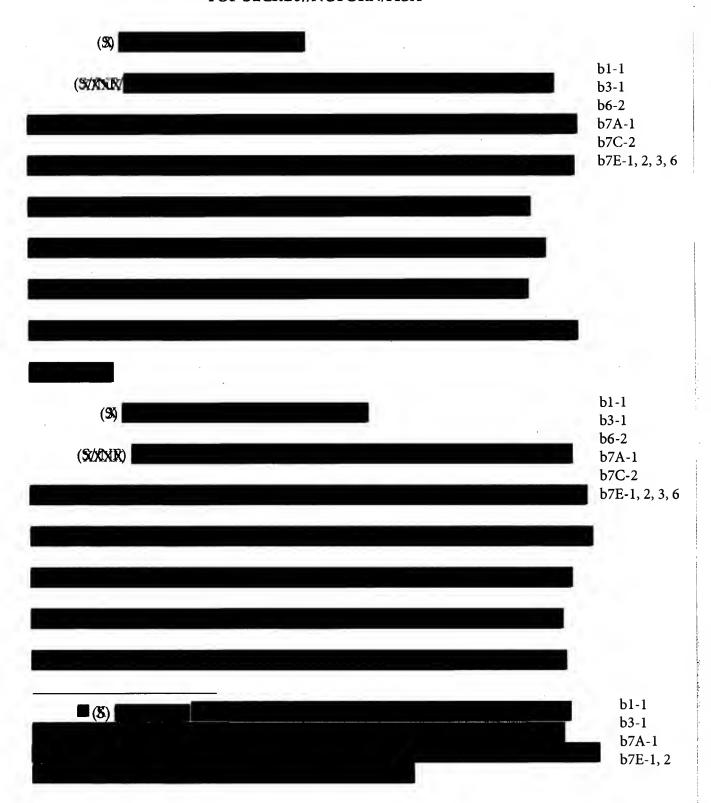


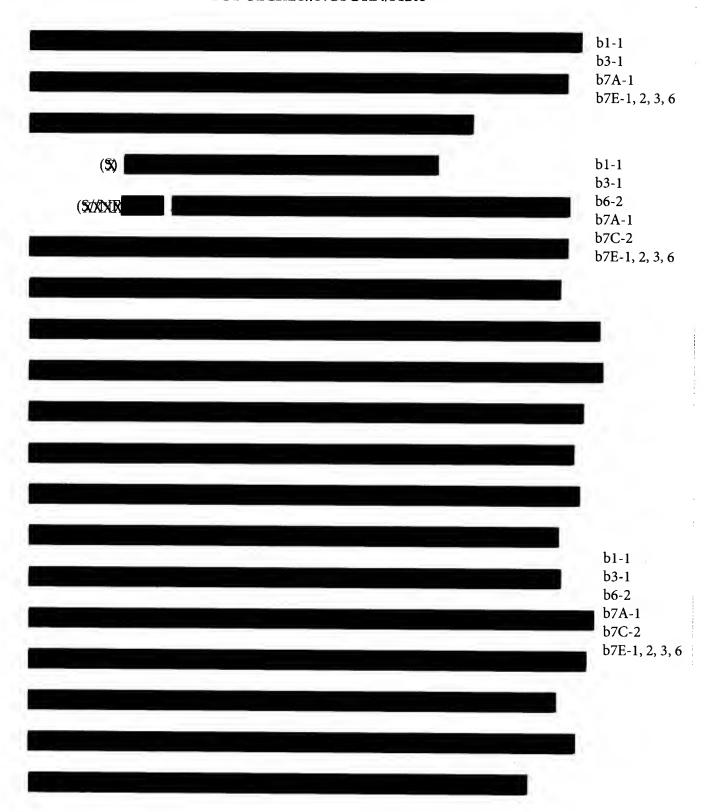


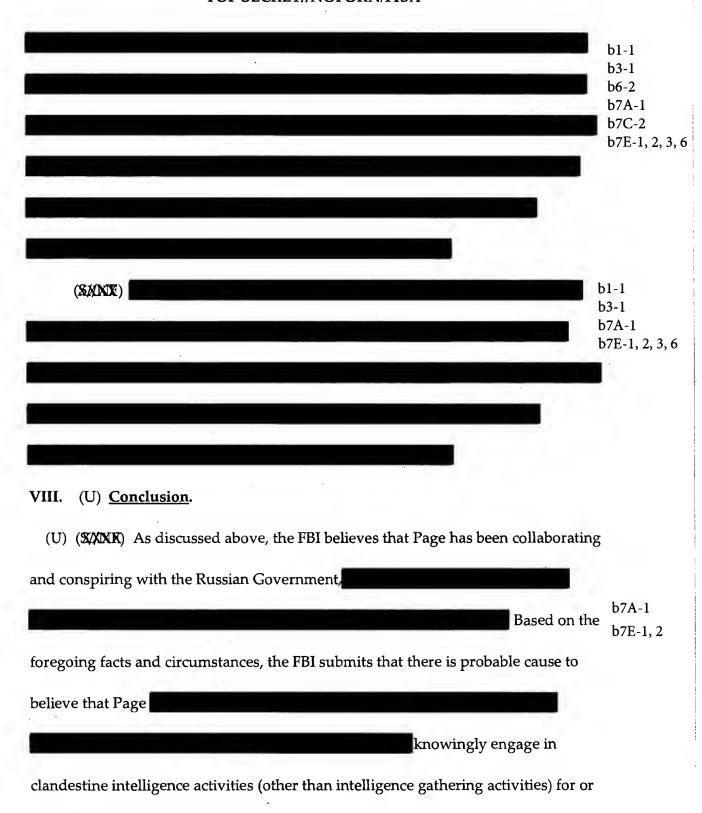


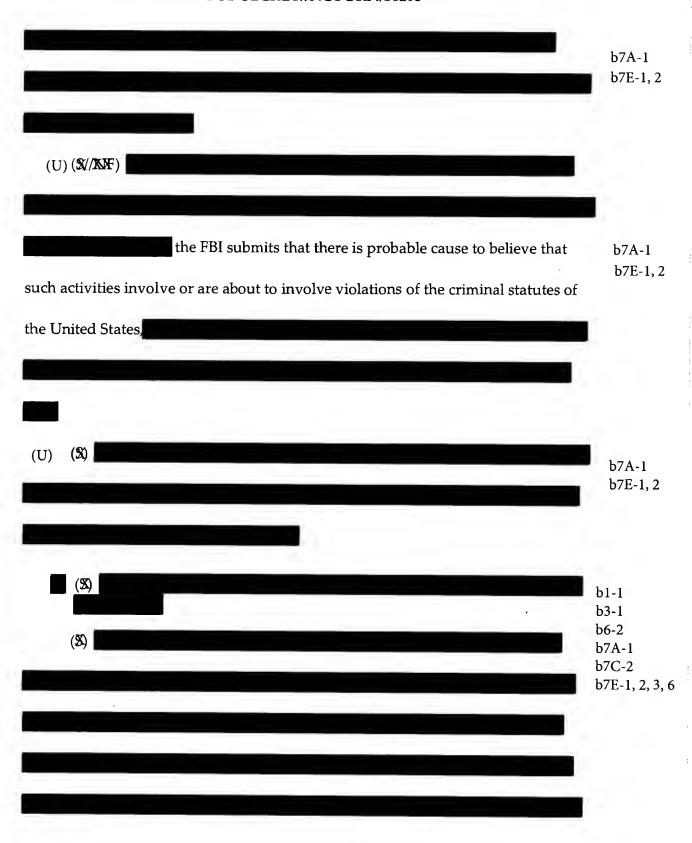


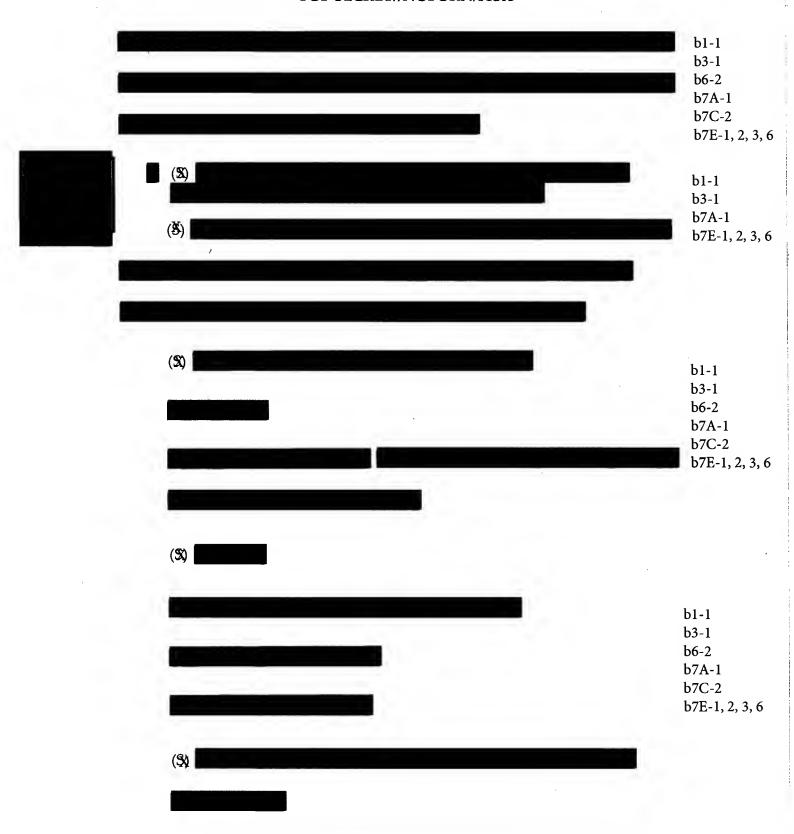


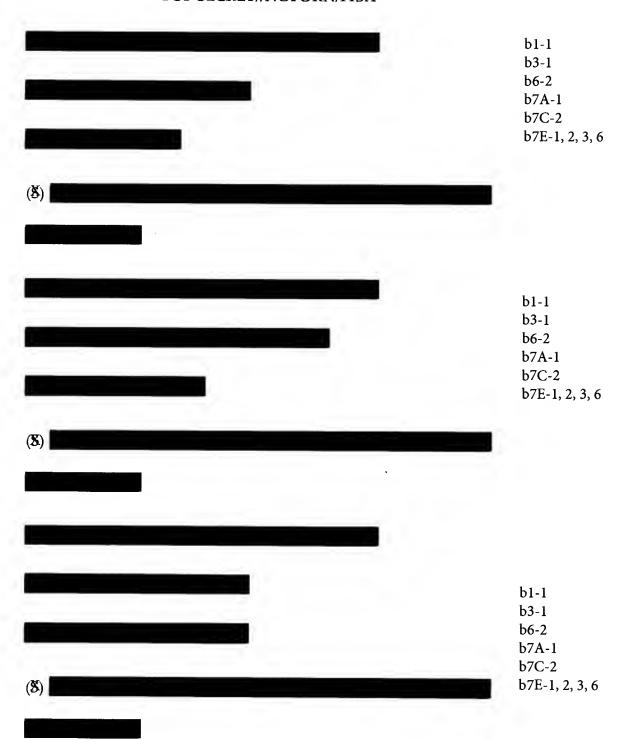


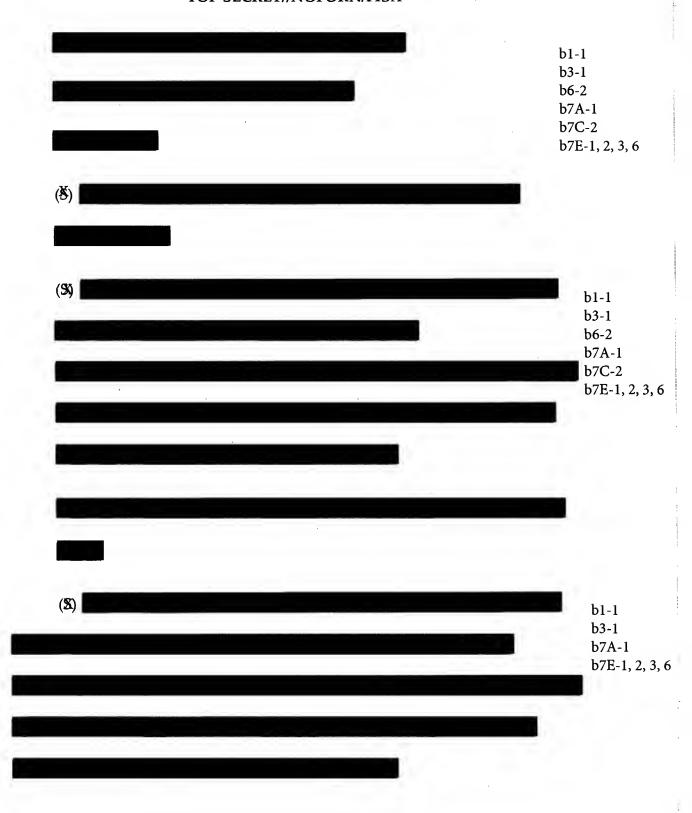


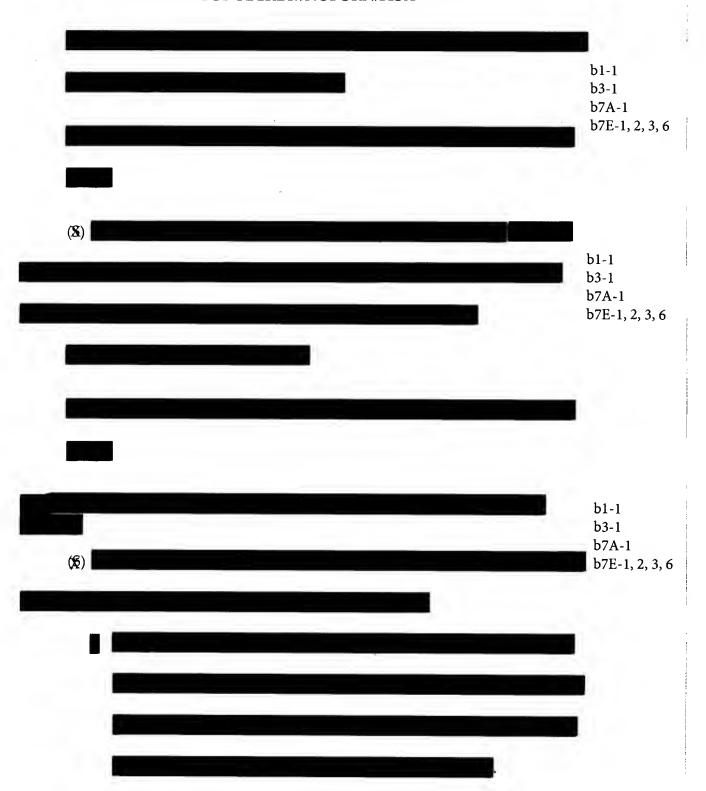




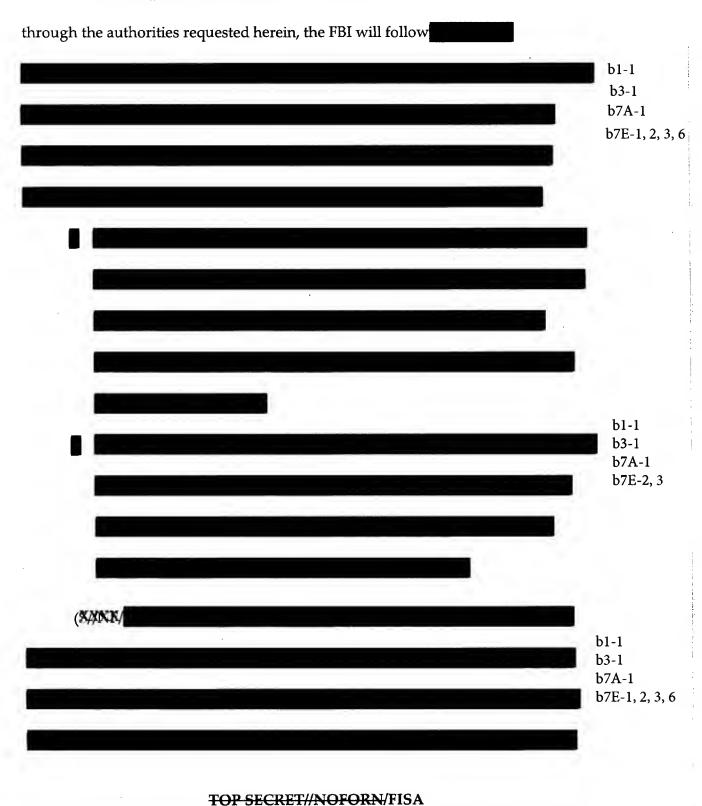


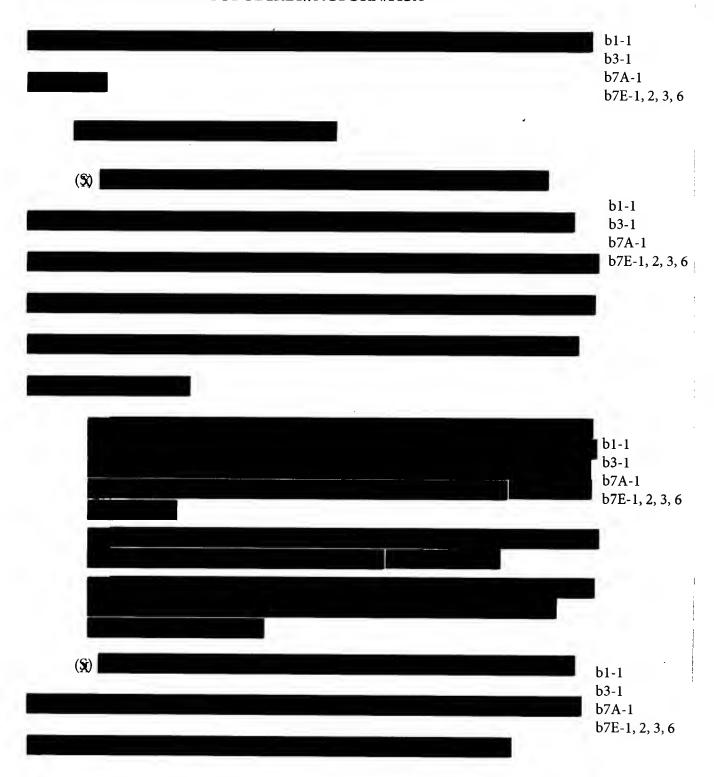






4. (X) Proposed Minimization Procedures As to all information acquired







5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities

b3-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the

certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is

seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of

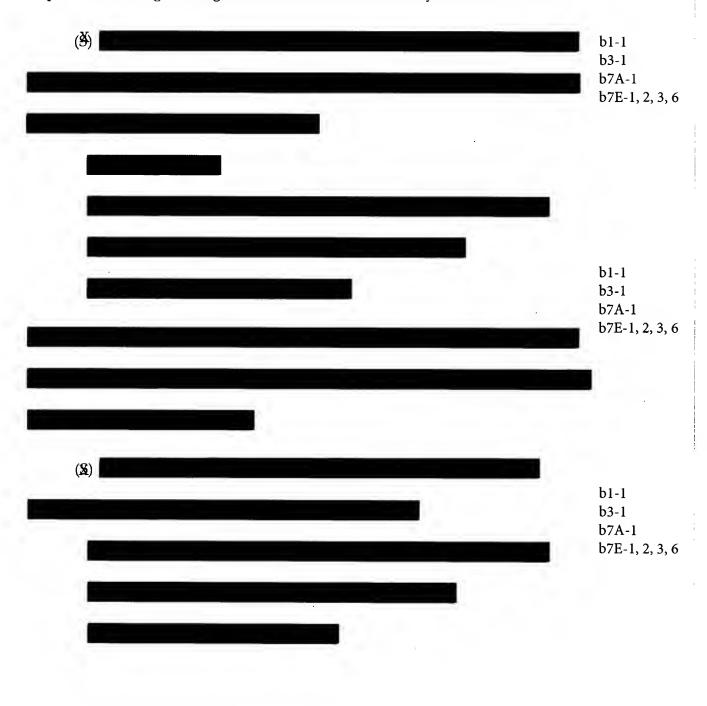
the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an

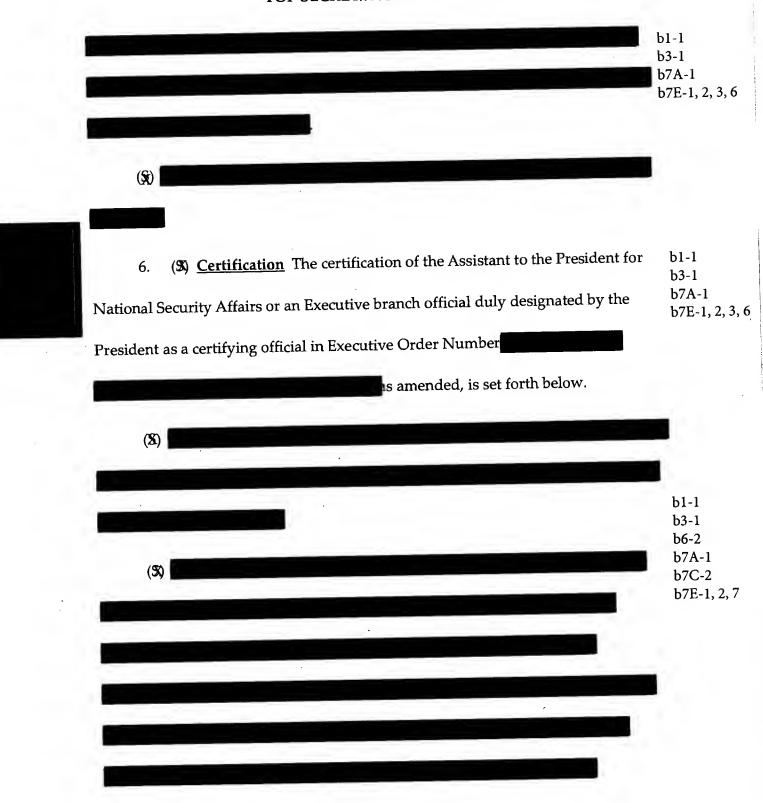
intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign

power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that

relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the

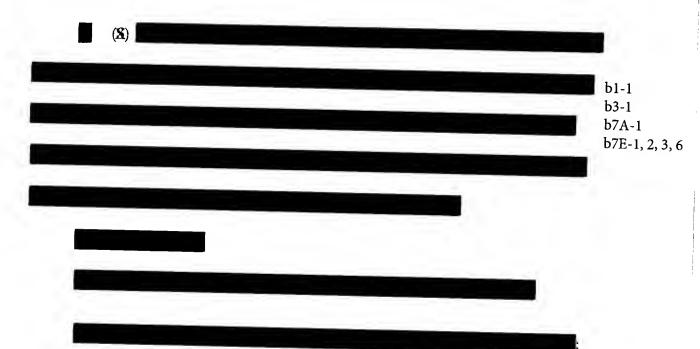
foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.

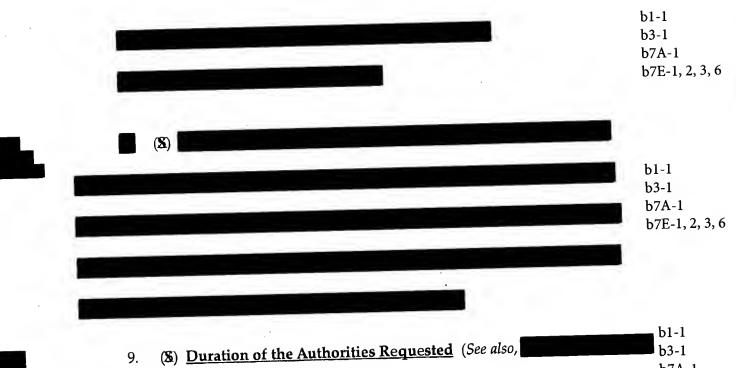




## (U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(\$\sqrt{s}\) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 of this target.





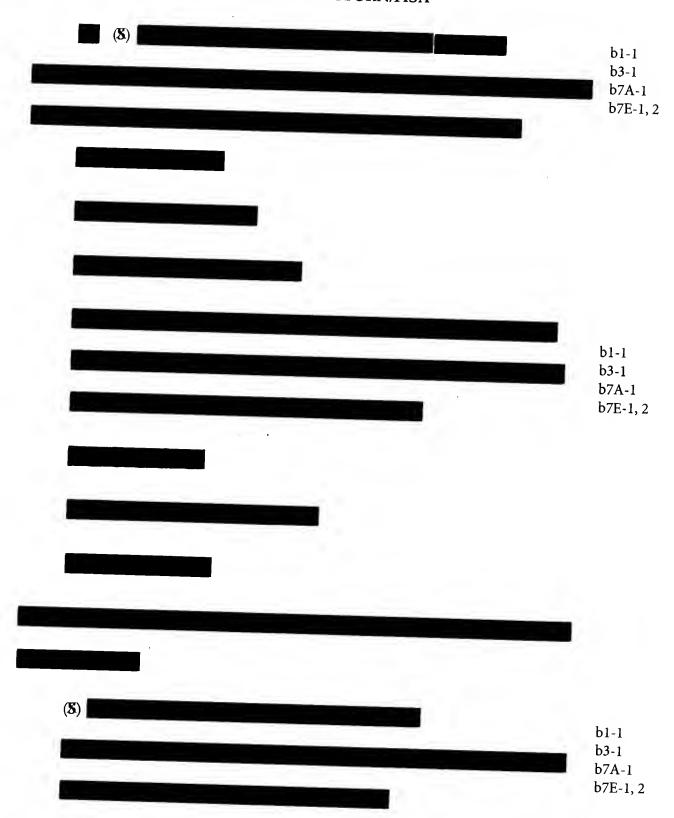
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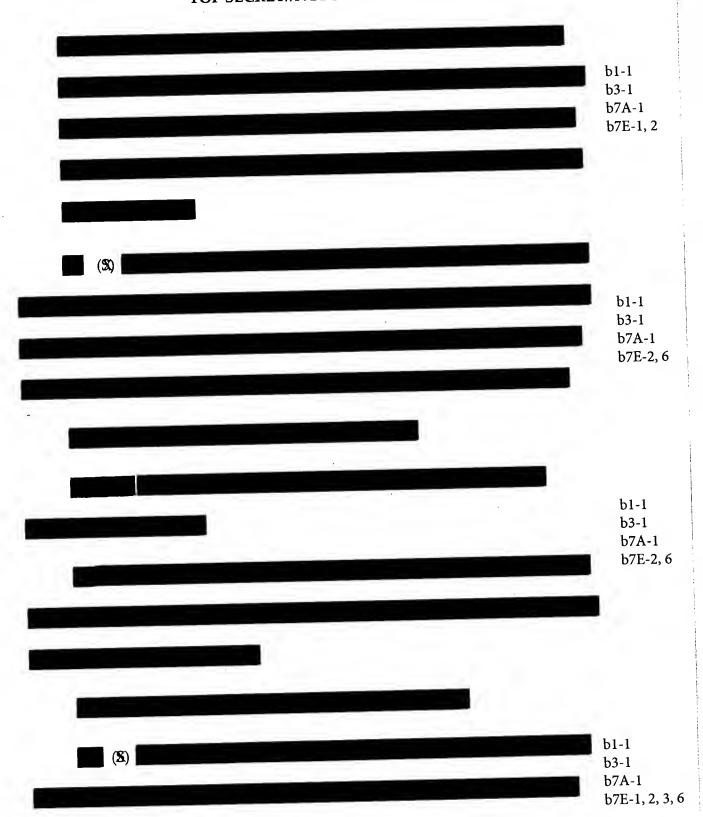
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign

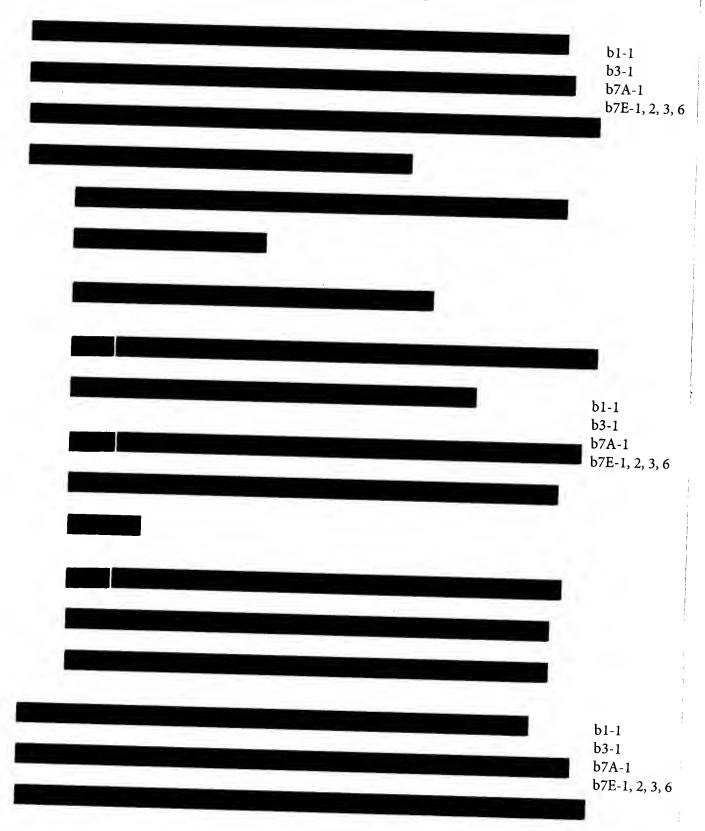
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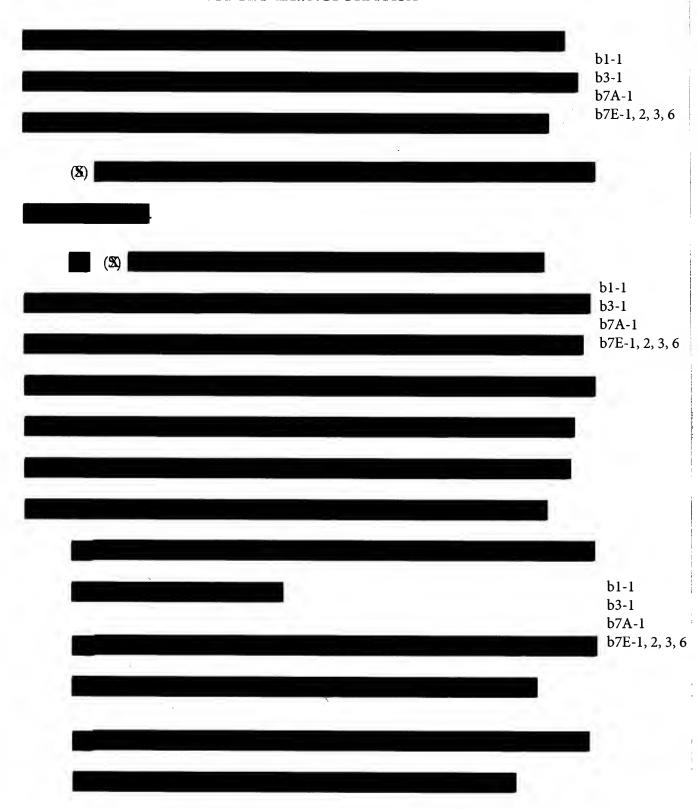
intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.

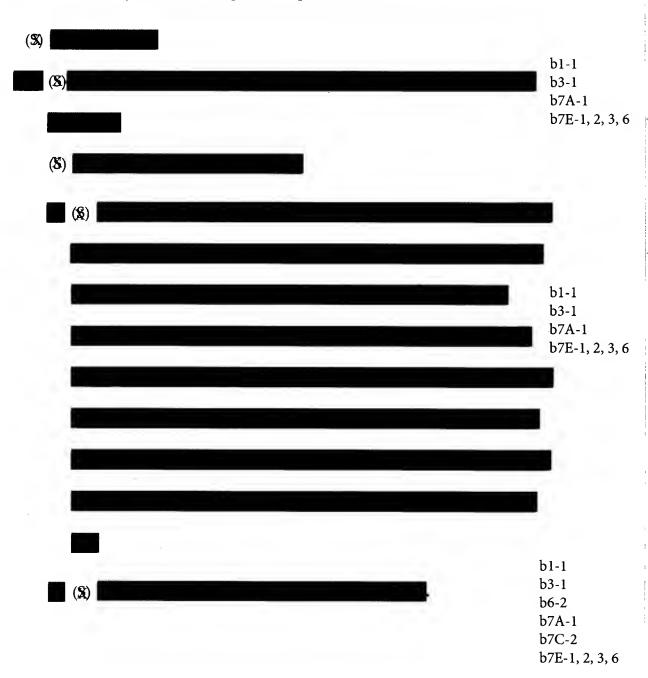


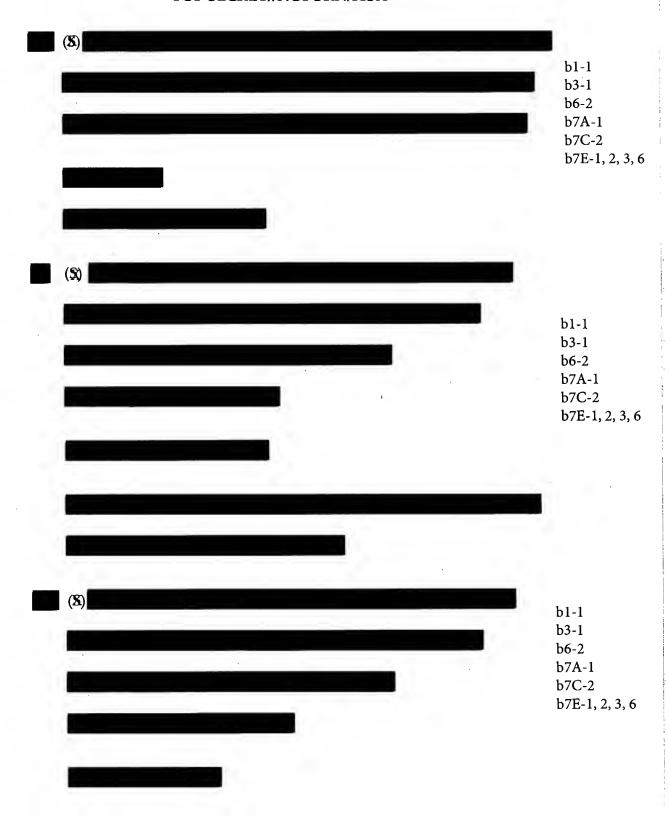


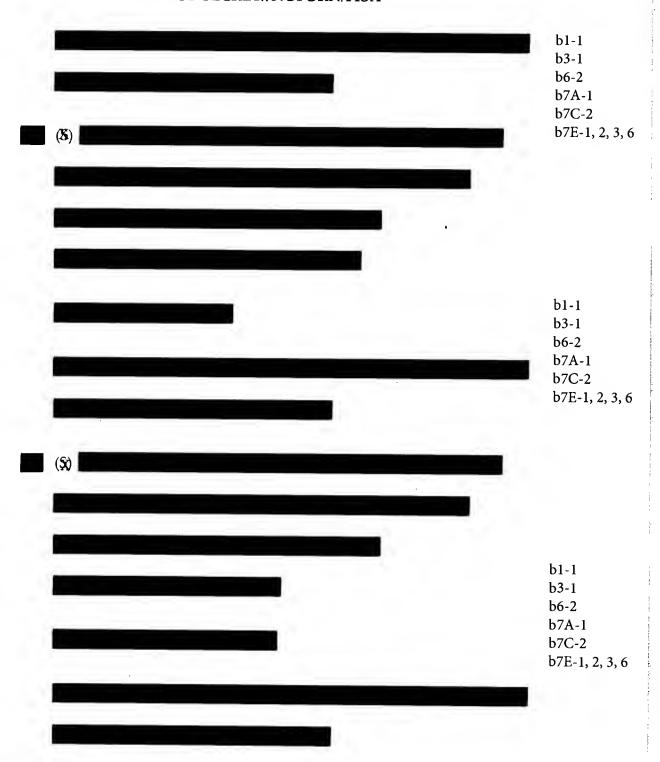


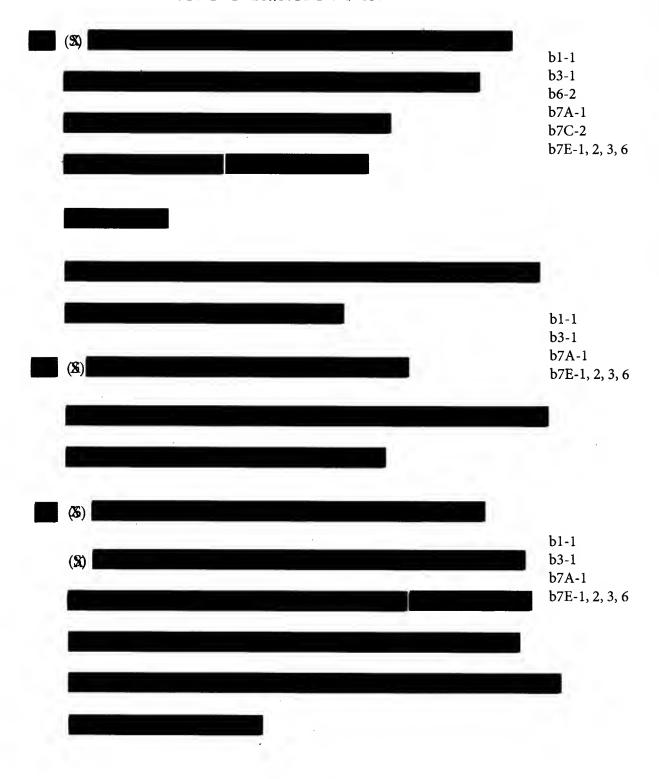


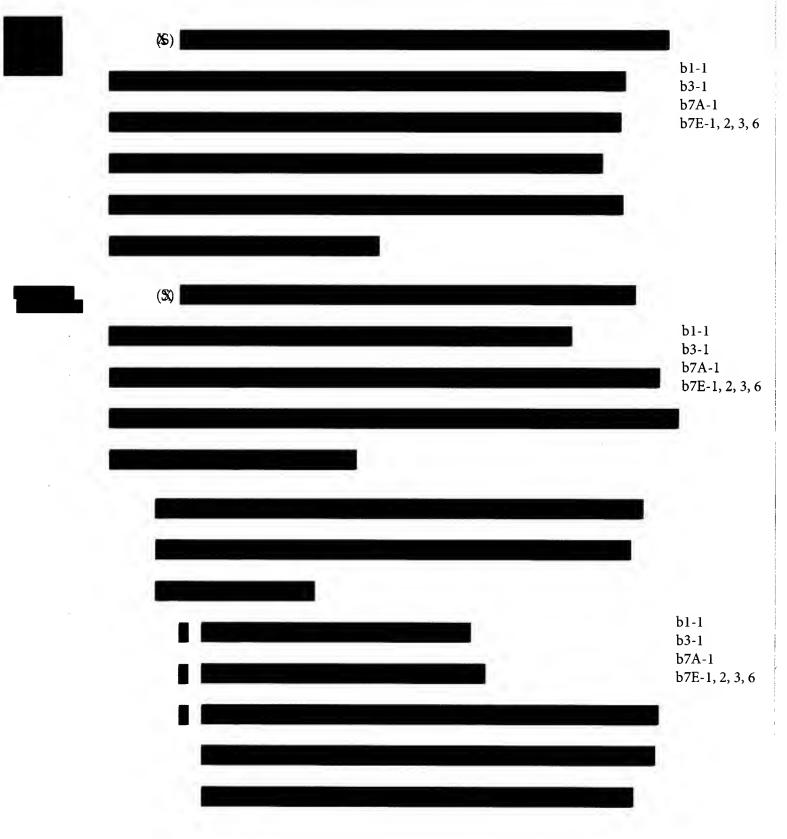
(3) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

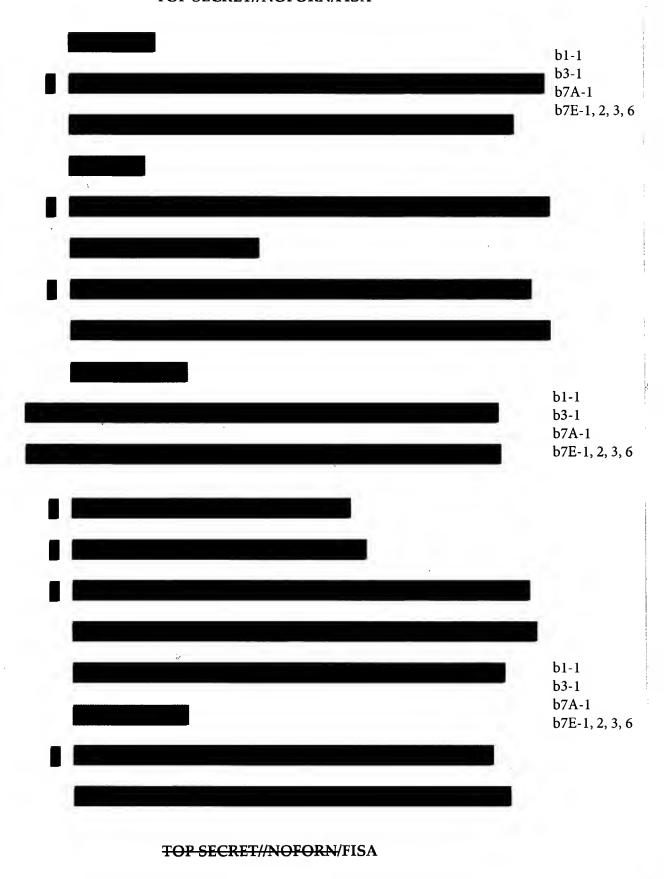












b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(U) (\$\mathbb{X}\$) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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# (U) VERIFICATION

(\$) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United

b1-1
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b6-1
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Supervisory Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation

#### (U) CERTIFICATION

(\$) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the b1-1

requested in this verified application targeting

b3-1

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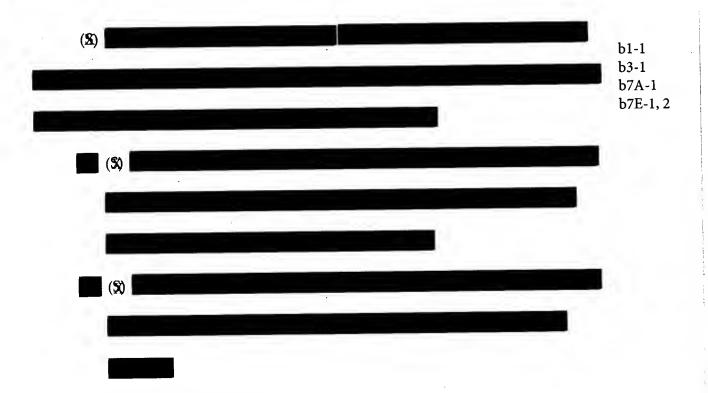
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

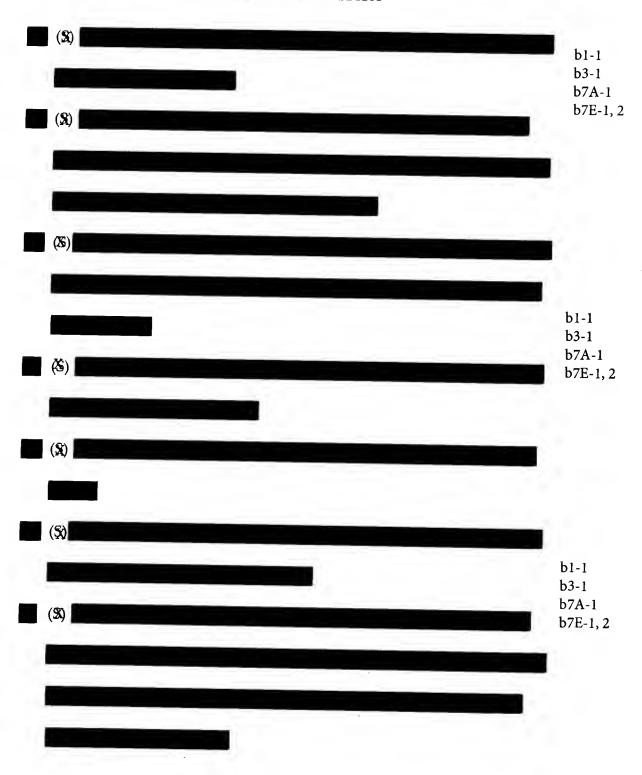
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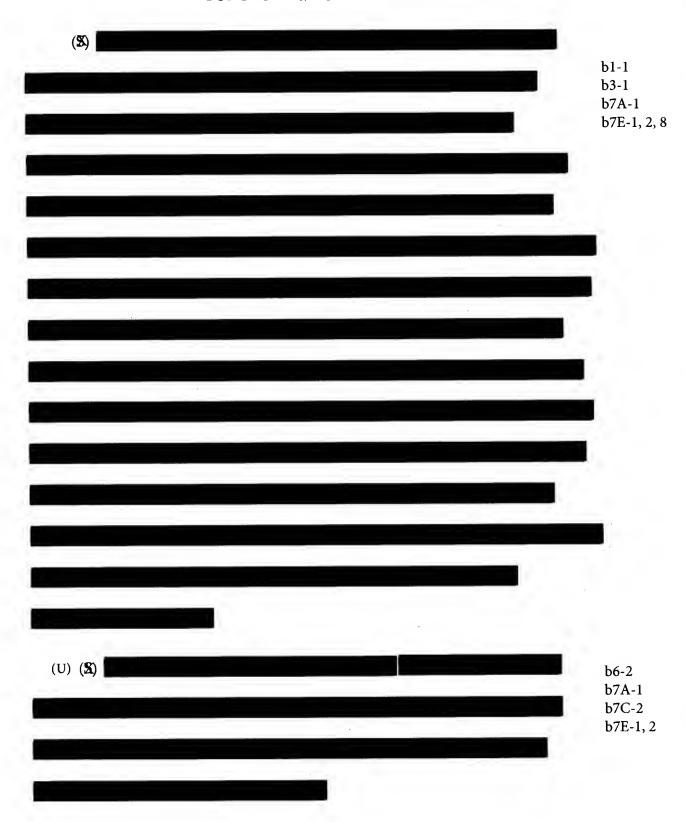
- (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is not to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
- (D) (X) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

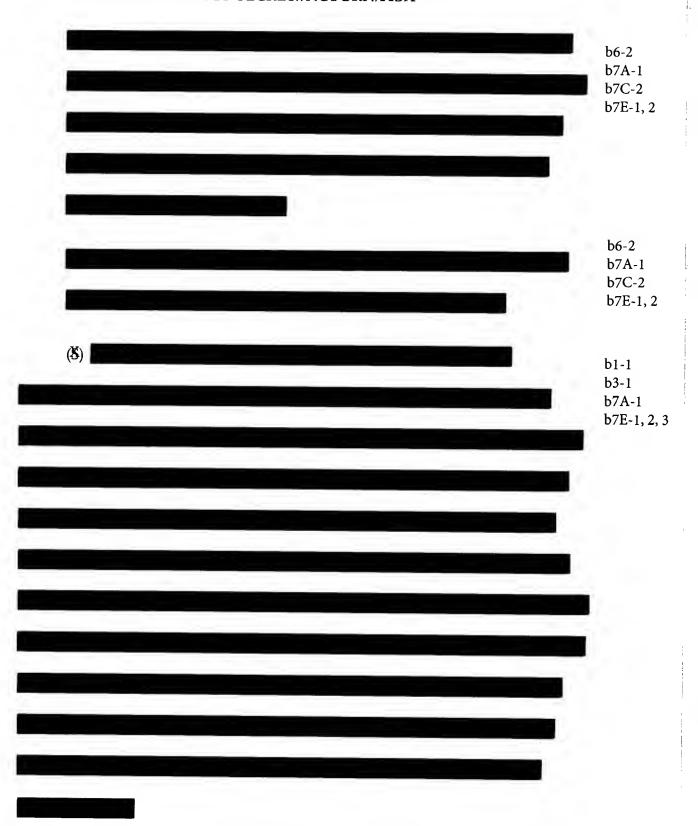
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

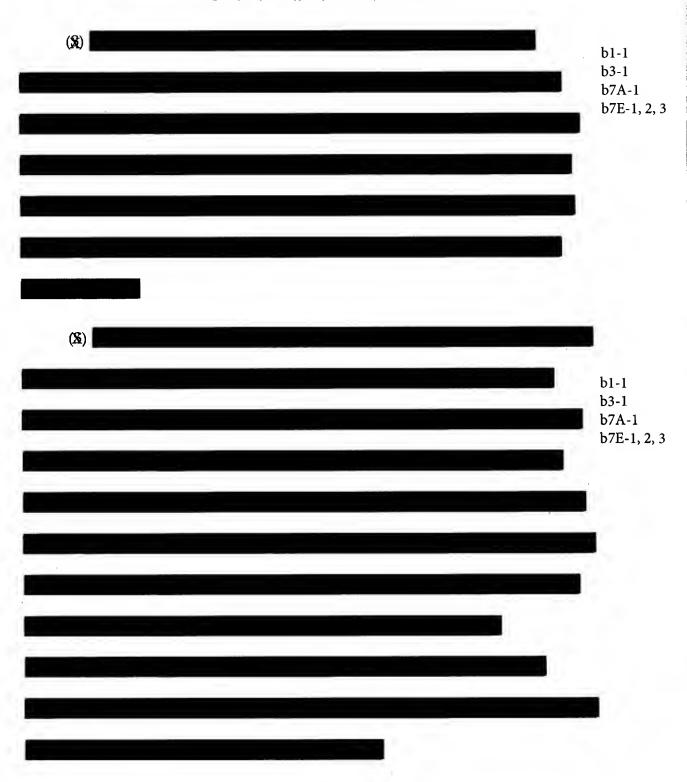
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

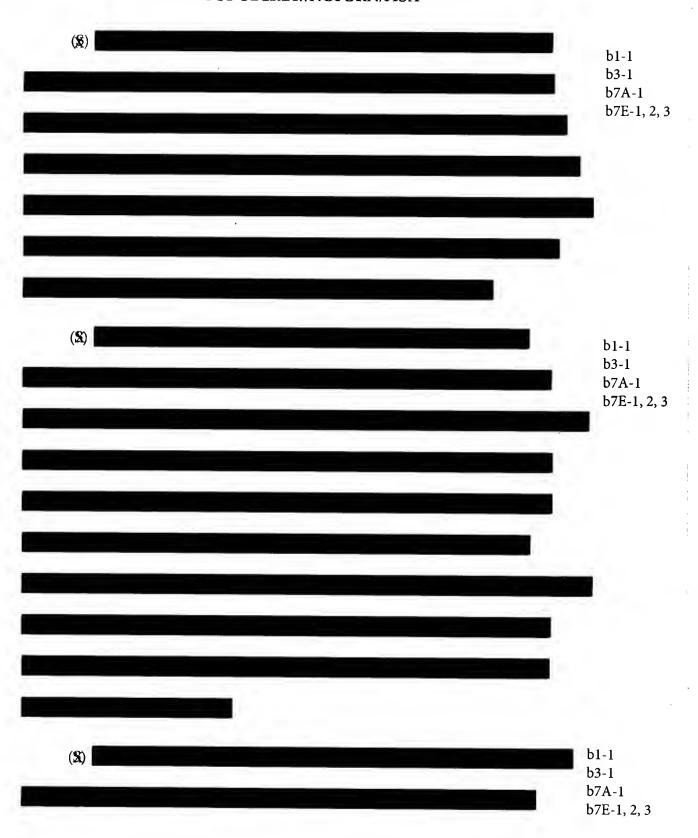


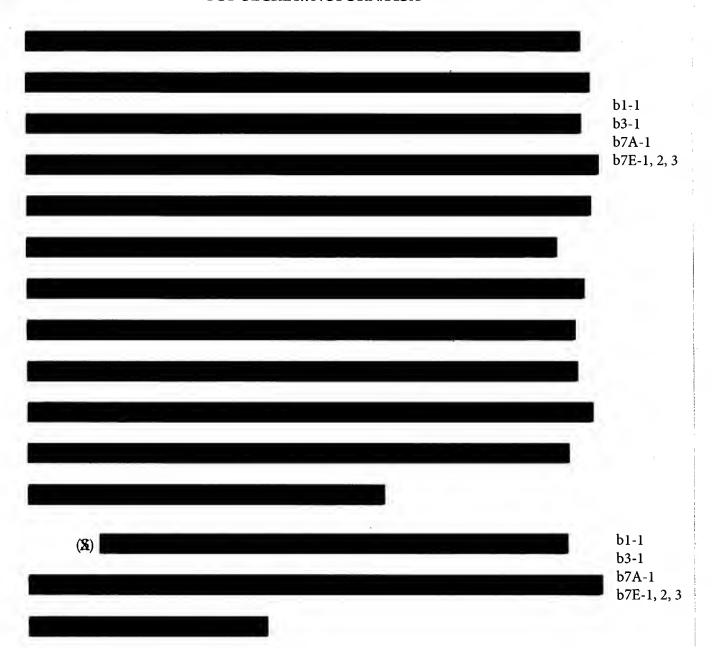












(U) (3) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

(S) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended.

Yamas B. Corney	Rex Tillerson			
Jaynes B. Comey  Director				
Federal Bureau of Investigation	Secretary of State			
Tederal Duleau of Investigation				
Andrew G, McCabe				
Deputy Director	Deputy Secretary of State			
Federal Bureau of Investigation				
Michael R. Pompeo	James N. Mattis			
Director of the Central	Secretary of Defense			
Intelligence Agency	2002 2000 y 21 12 21 21 20 10 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20			
0 0 )				
Daniel R. Coats	H.R. McMaster			
Director of National Intelligence	Assistant to the President for			
_	National Security Affairs			

Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence



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# (U) APPROVAL

(U) (§) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.

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(S) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

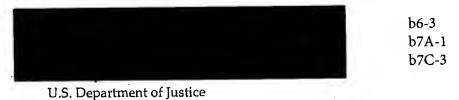
W. Page with the Co	urt,	
	Vana Bout	
	Dana J. Boente <sup>27</sup>	
1	Acting Attorney General of the United States	
FAPI/ 201	'7	
Øate Mark	/	

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> (U) Pursuant to Executive Order 13787 (March 31, 2017), Dana J. Boente is serving as the Acting Attorney General with respect to this matter by virtue of the Attorney General's recusal.

(U) (X) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



-2017

Declassify On:

Reason: (C)

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated

United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

UNITED STATES

LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk of Court FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

b3-1

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7A-1

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

Docket Number:

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

**PERSON** 

# PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50 U.S.C. §§ FISA or the Act), for an order and warrant (hereinafter "order") for and full consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds as follows:

b1-1

b3-1

b7A-1

2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the

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Attorney General;



3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

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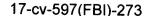
Application to the USFISC

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in Docket Number captioned above

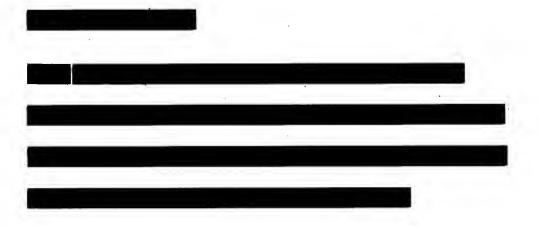
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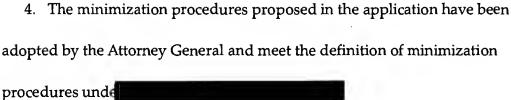
Declassify on:



(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2





b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

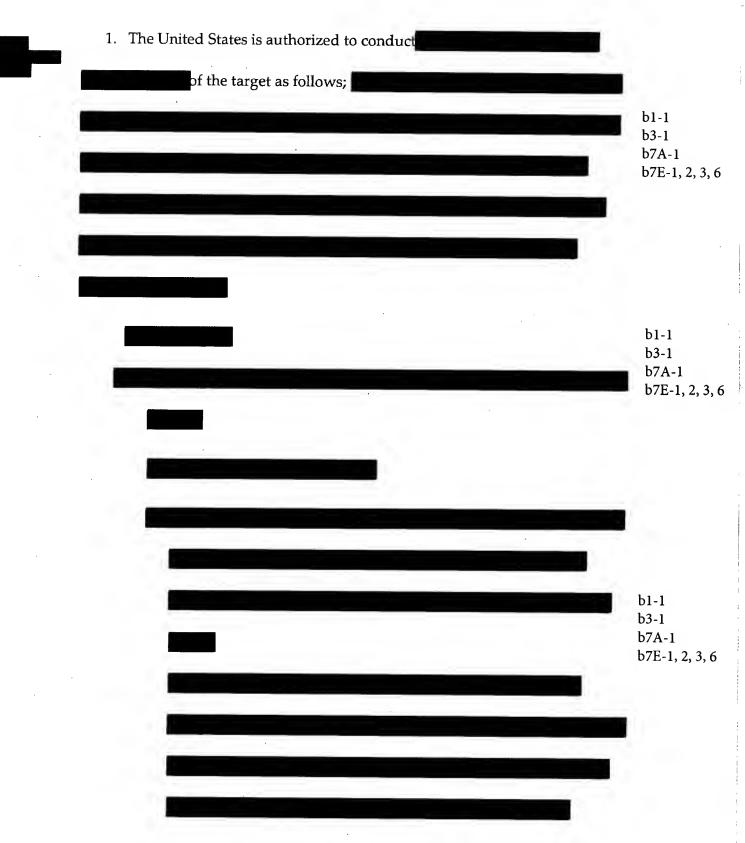
5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

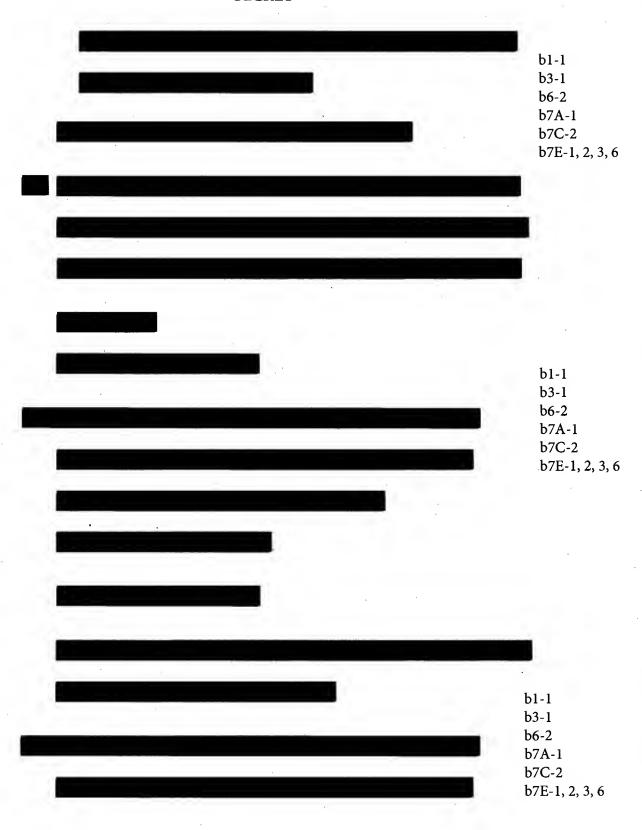
b1-1 and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis b3-1 b7A-1 of the statements made unde b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

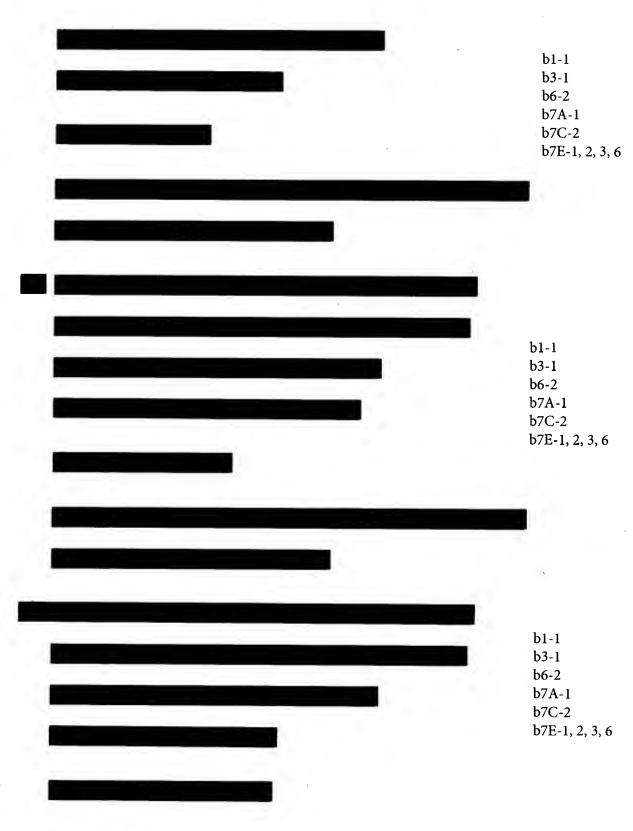
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

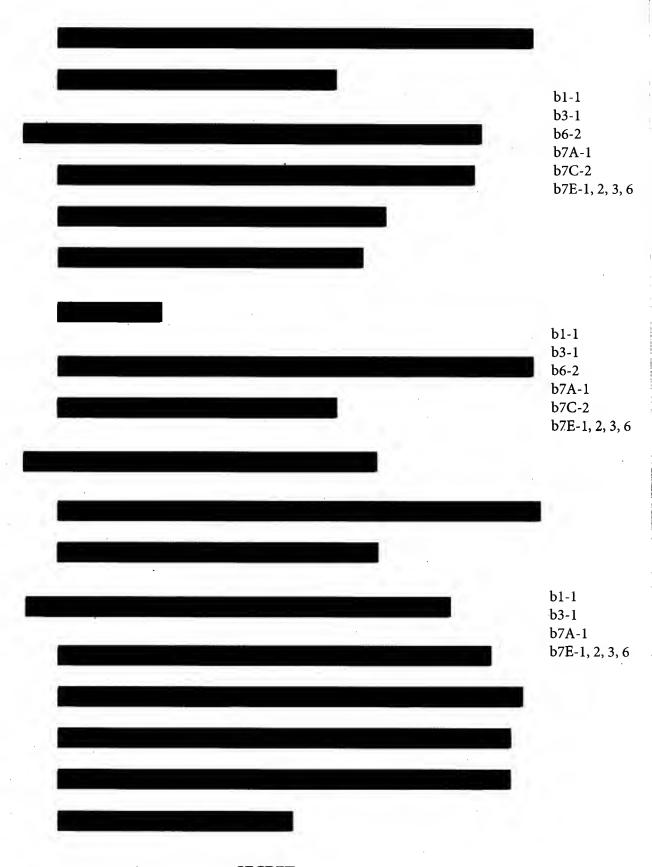
FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

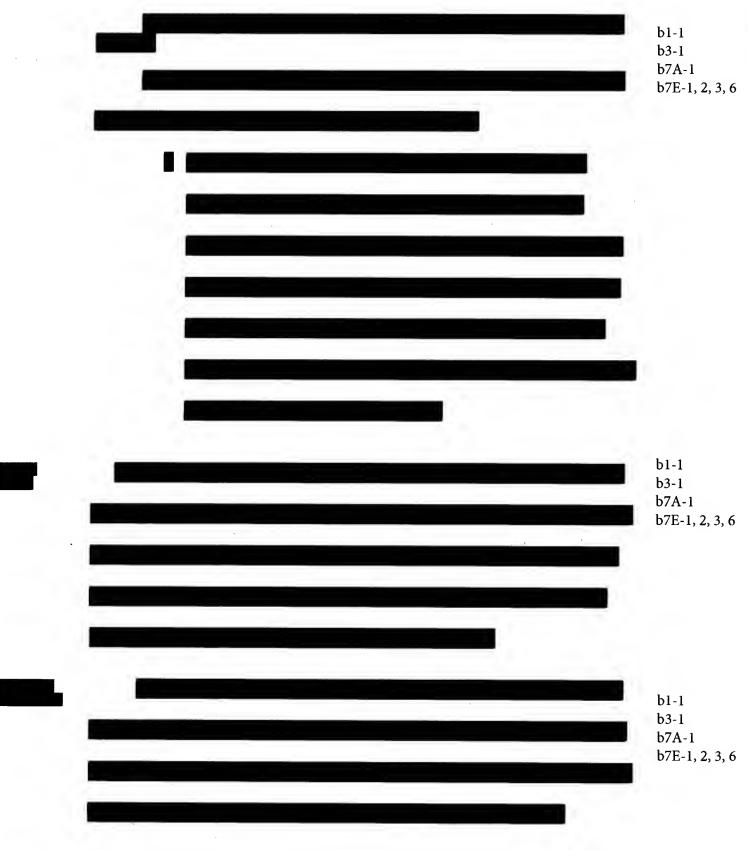
any other information furnished unde

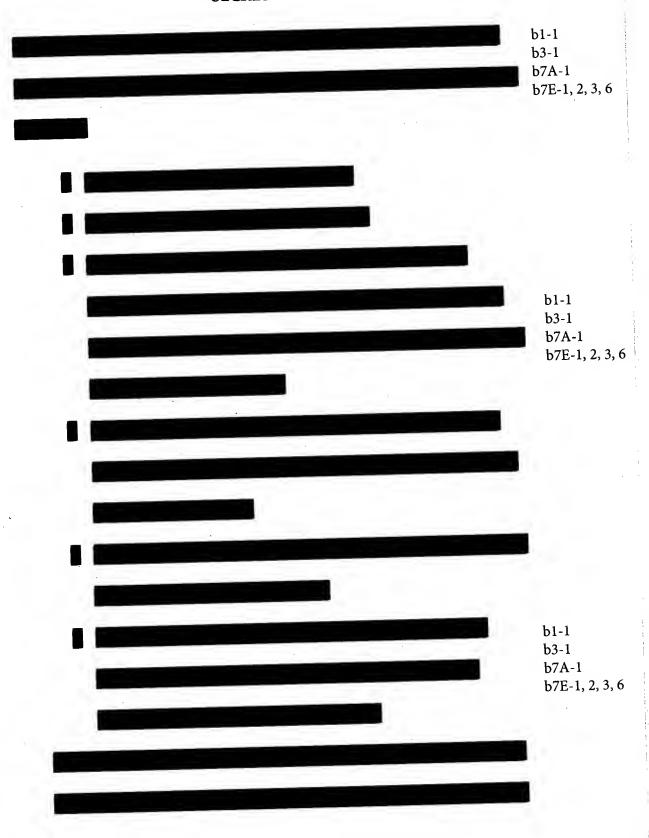




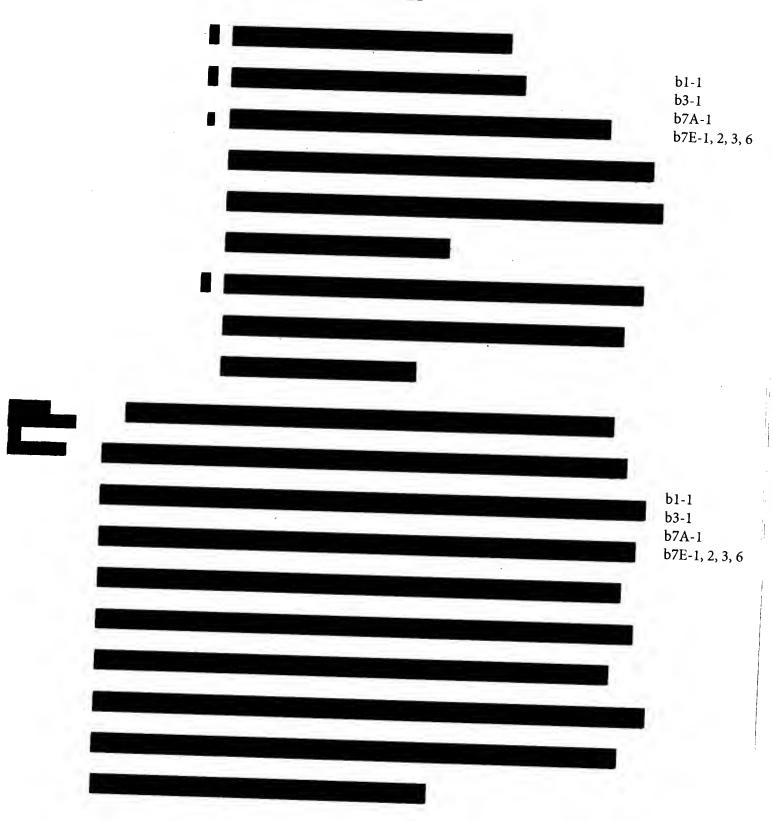


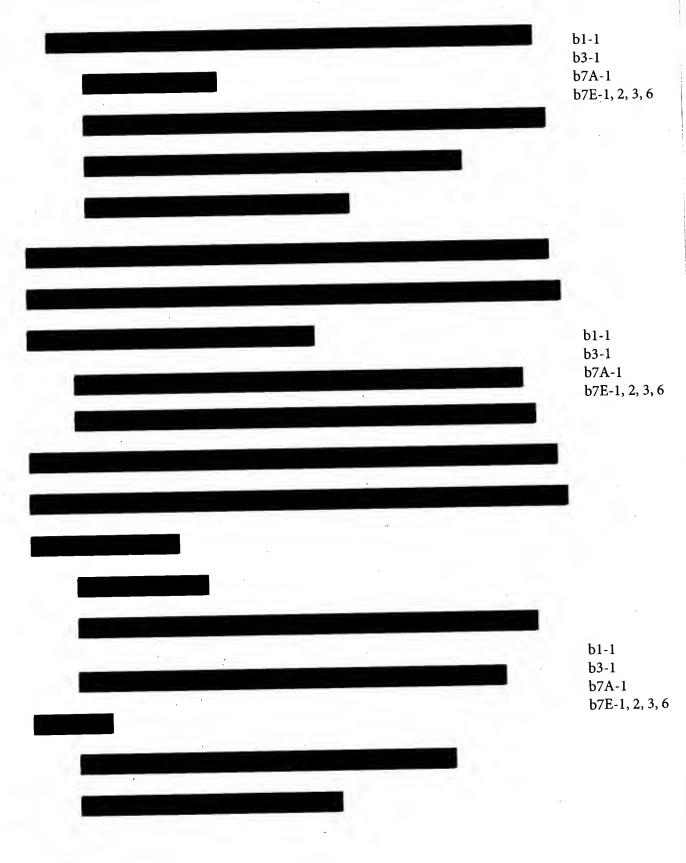








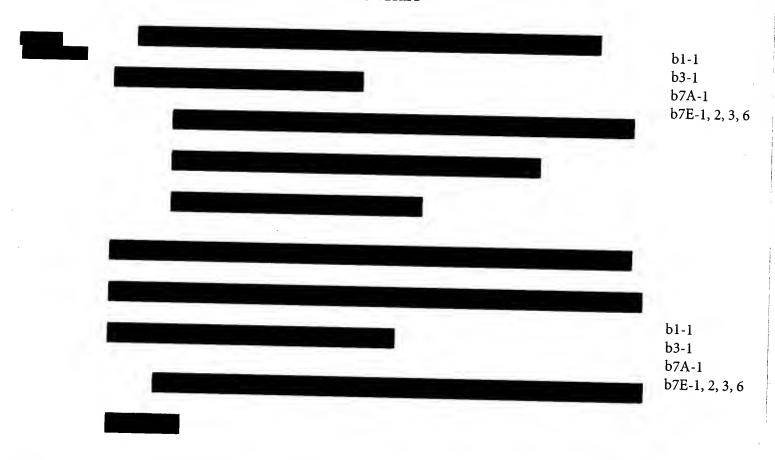




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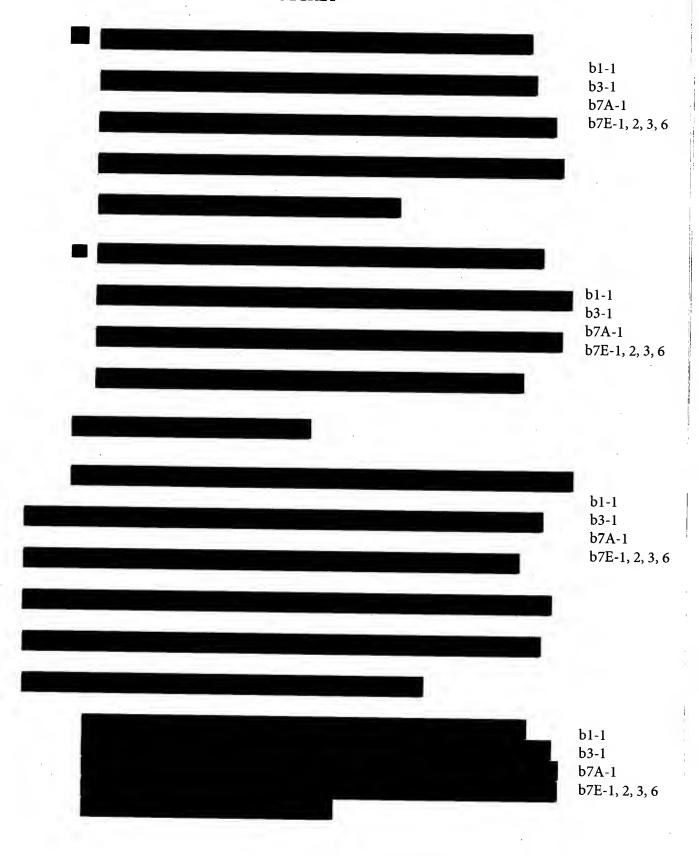
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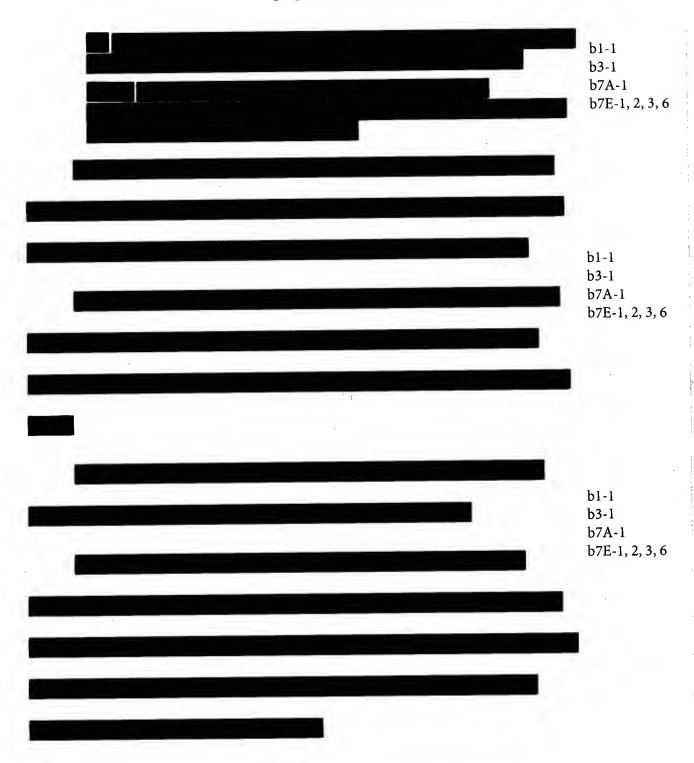
6. The authorities approved are for the period indicated below unless otherwise ordered by this Court.

As to all information acquired through the authorities approved herein, b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

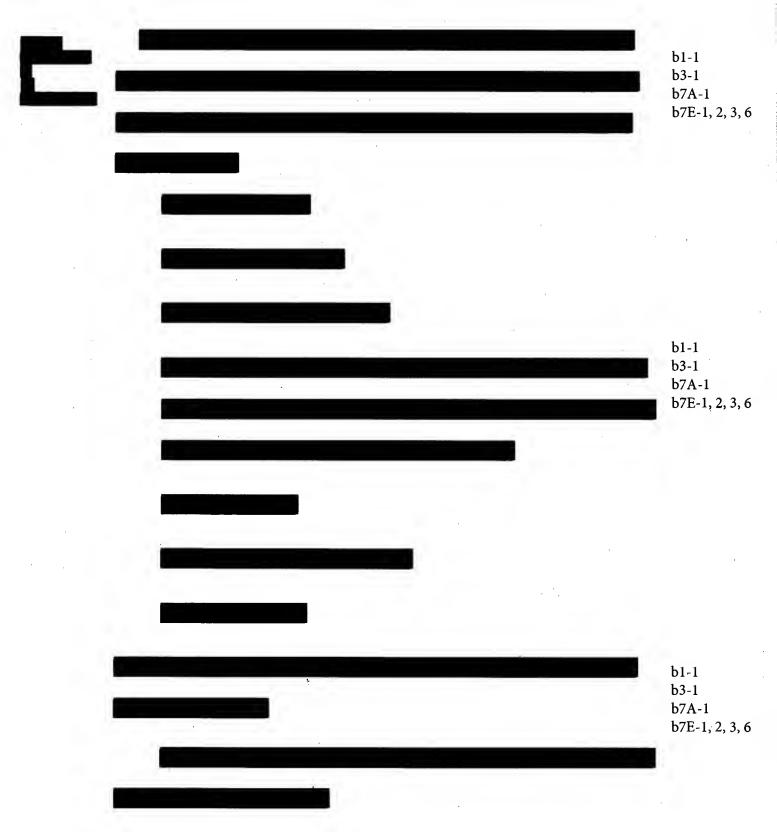


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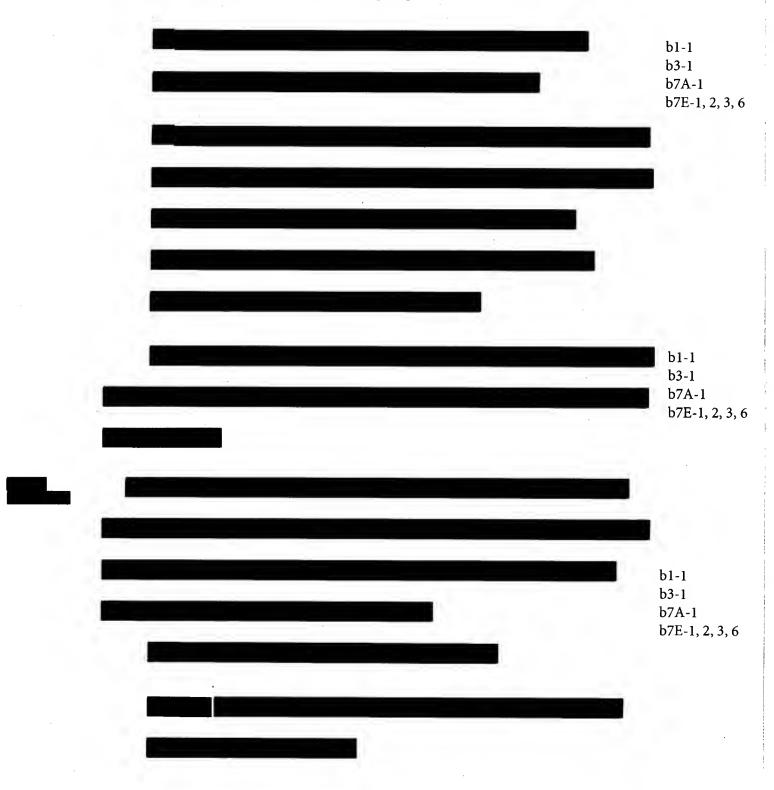
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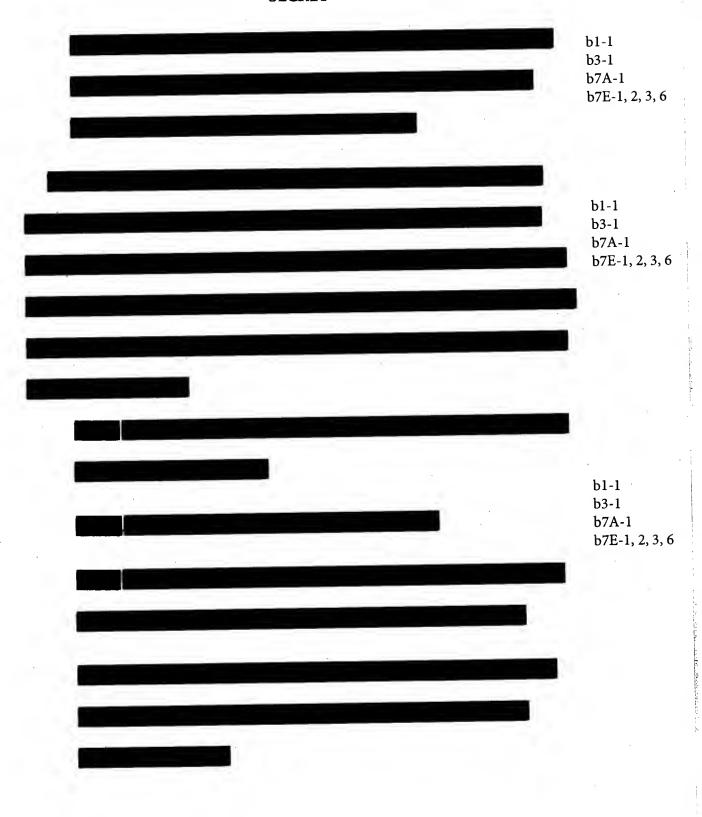




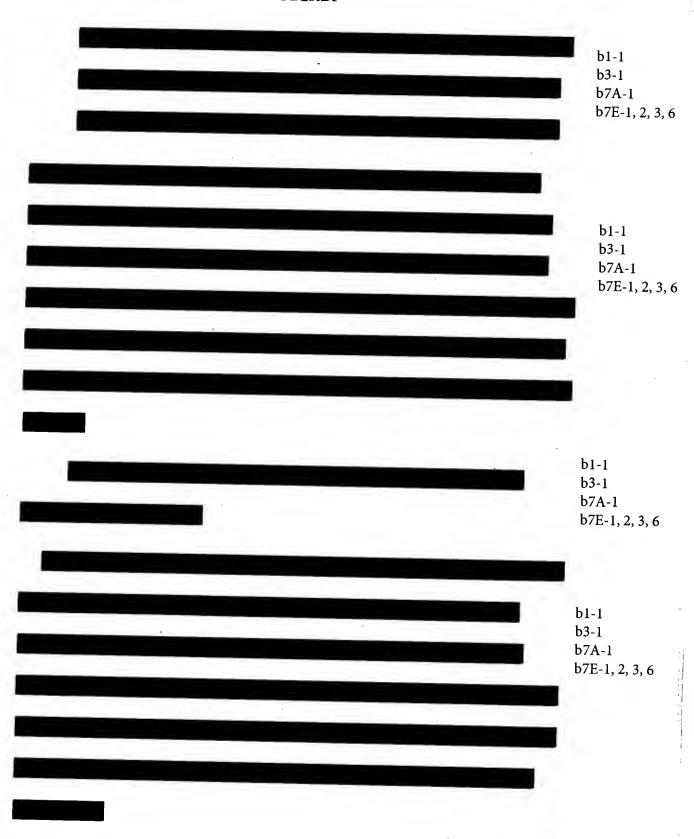






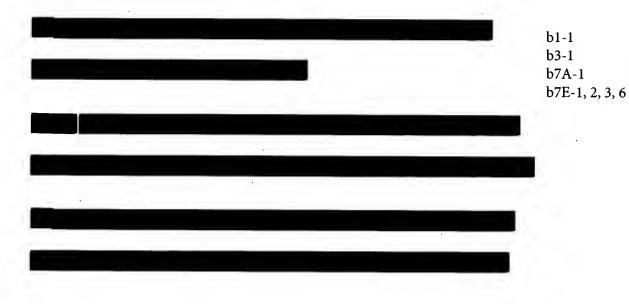


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ANNE C. CONWAY

Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

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All information is considered unclass except where otherwise shown.  Classify By: J23J98T32  Reason: (C)  Derived From: FBI NSICG, date 06-2017 Declassify On:			UNITED STATES FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT					
		b1-1 WASHINGTON, D.C. b3-1				SLER COLL	77.551 2017	
		ARTER W. PAC	SE, A U.S.	Docket Numb	er:	b1-1 b3-1 b7A	-1	
		(1)	U) <b>VERIFIED</b>	APPLICATION	I			
	<b>(%)</b> [	The United State	s of America he	ereby applies to	this Court f	or authority to		
	conduct			as d	escribed he	rein, pursuant	b1-1 b3-1	
	to the Fore	ign Intelligence	Surveillance Ac	et of 1978, as am	ended, Title	50, United	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6	
	States Cod	e (U.S.C.), §§		(FISA or	the Act).			
	1.	1. (U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is						
	made by		a Supervisory S	Special Agent (S	SSA) of the F	ederal Bureau	b3-1 b6-1 b7A-1	
	of Investig	gation (FBI) who	se official dutie	es at FBI Headqı	uarters inclu	ıde supervision	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6	
	of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon information							
	officially	furnished to				·		
			TOP SECRET	<del>://NOFORN</del> /FIS	5A			
		Classified by:				b1-1 b3-1		
		Derived from:				b7A-1		

Declassify on:

2. (X) <u>Identity of the Target</u> The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The

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b1-1

status of the target was determined in or about June 2017 from information provided

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

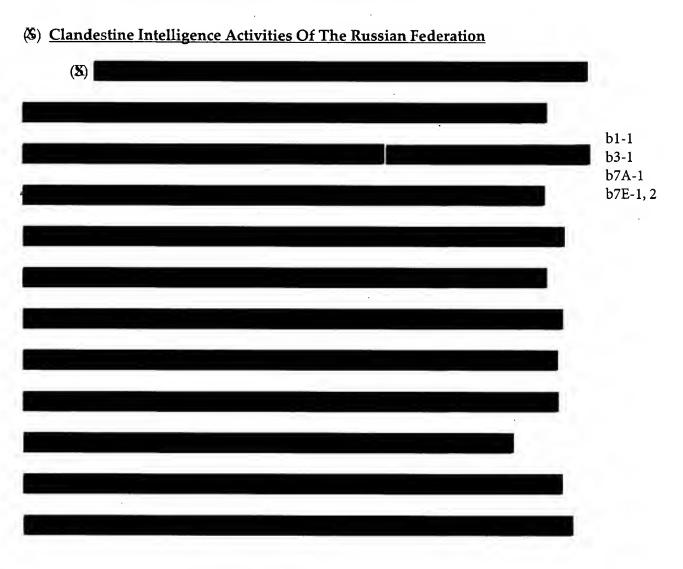
by the U.S. Department of State.

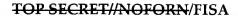


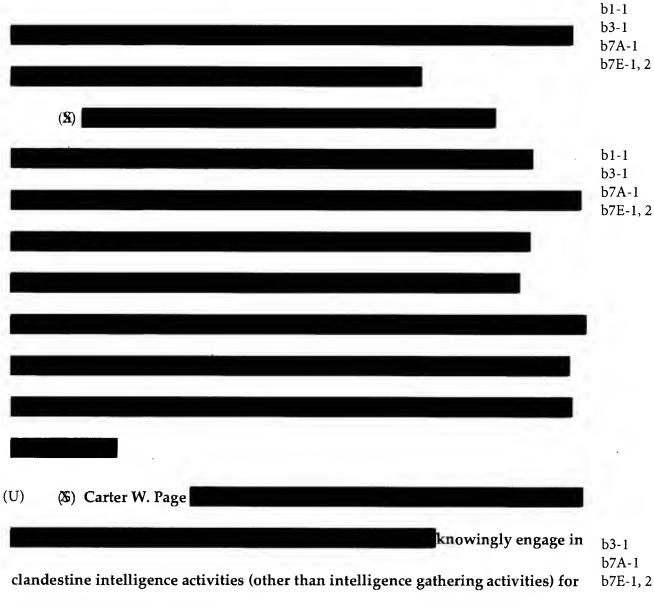
3. **(S)** Statement of Facts The United States relies upon the following facts b1-1 b3-1 and circumstances in support of this application. b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

- a. (\$\) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (\$\mathbb{X}) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (U) (S) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.
- (U) (§) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

(U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the <u>Diplomatic List</u>, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

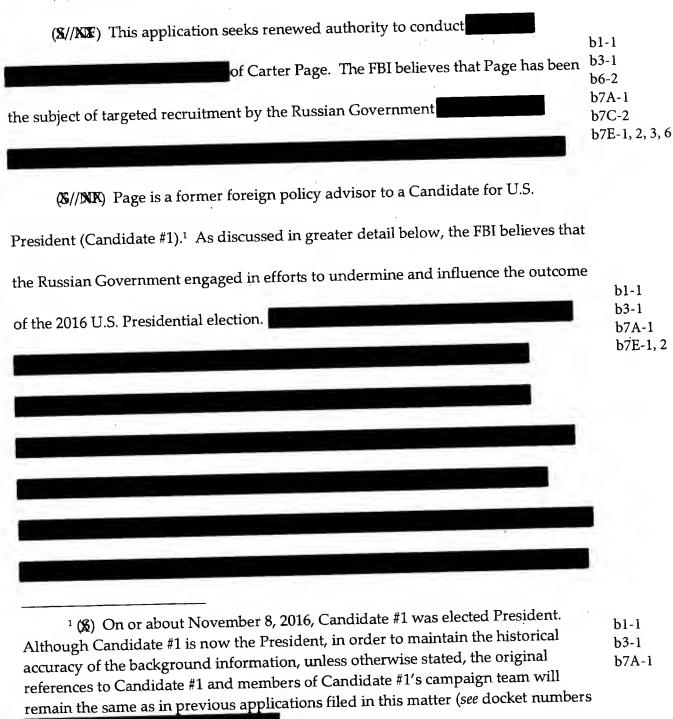






or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

## I. (U) Overview.



b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

- II. (U) (\$//NX) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.
  - (U) A. (X/MR) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

organization, the then Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The then DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The then DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."

have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort.

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(S/NK) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the	
Democratic National Committee (DNC). <sup>2</sup>	L1 1
Bemoerane (varional committee (Bive).	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3
There has been speculation in the U.S. media that the Russian Government	
was behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack.	
Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was	
not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a	
net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public."	
Despite Russia's denial	b1-1 b3-1
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	b7E-1, 2, 3

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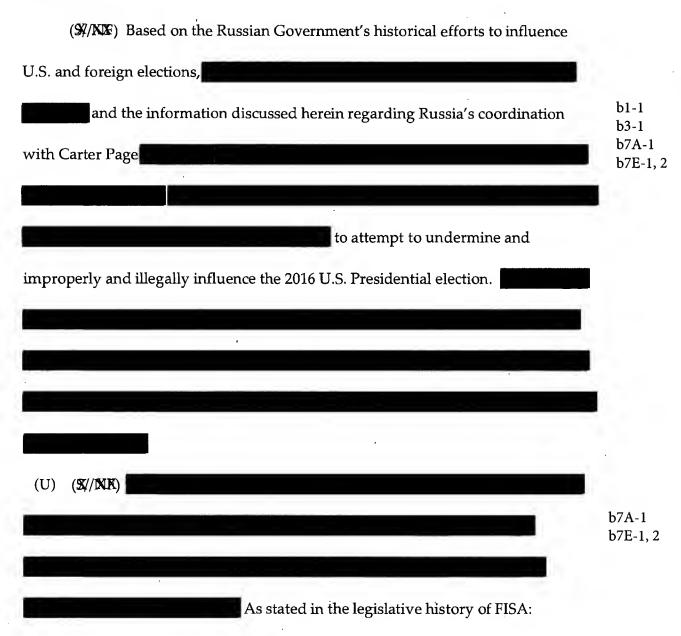
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> (S//NX) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

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addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the U.S. Presidential

Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].



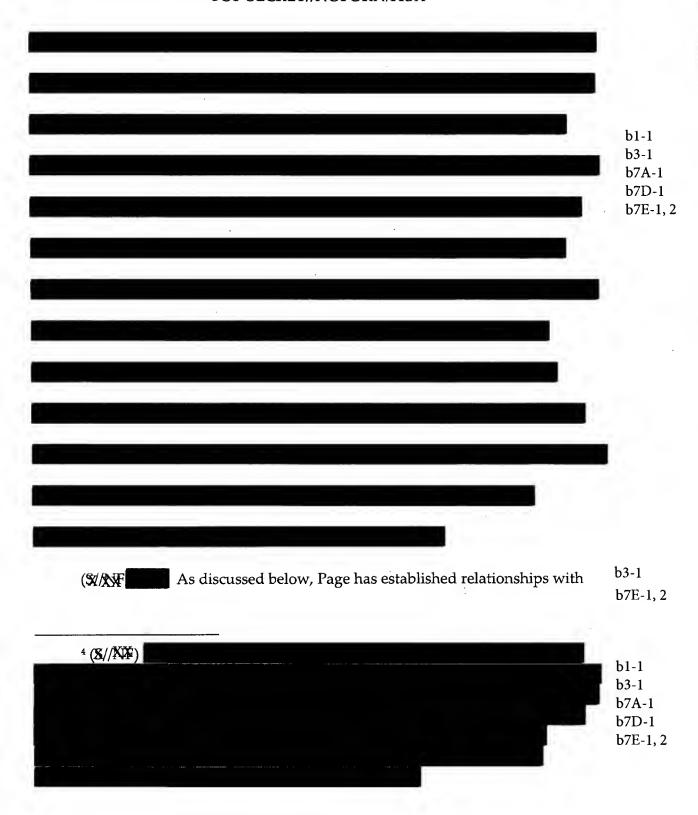
Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

(U) B. (\$\mathbb{S}/\mathbb{N}\mathbb{E}) The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

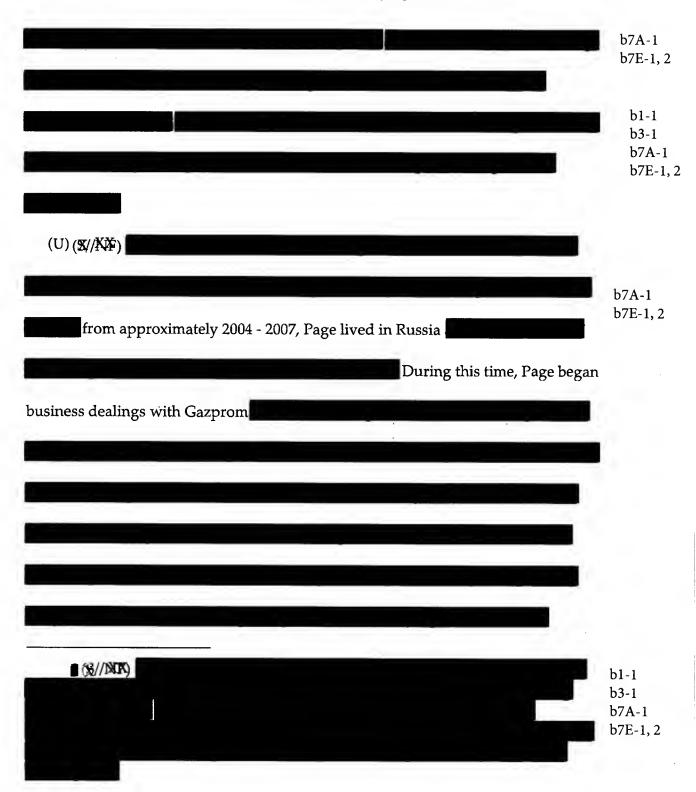
(\$\frac{\text{NF}}{\text{NF}}\) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos<sup>3</sup> and Carter Page (the

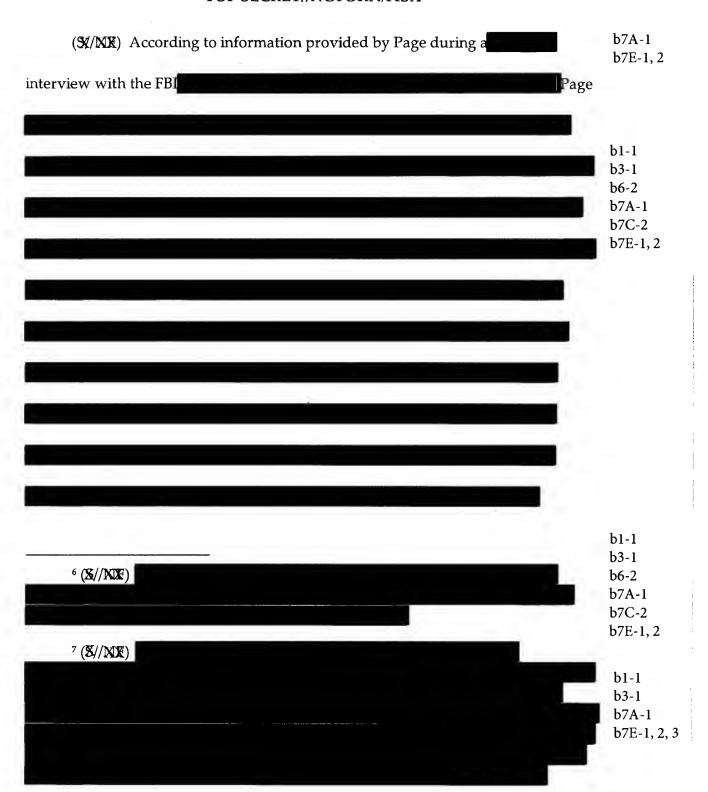
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her b1-1 foreign policy team. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other b1-1 individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 <sup>3</sup> (**§**) b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

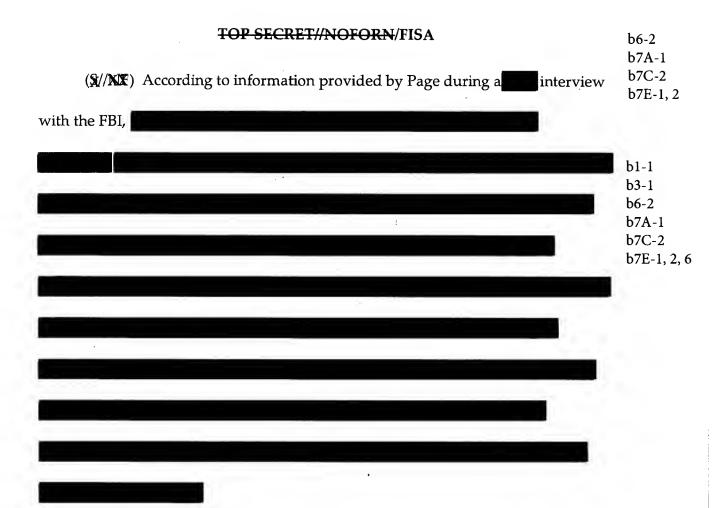


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Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
III. (U)(S) <u>Carter Page</u> .	
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.	
(SX/NXX) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
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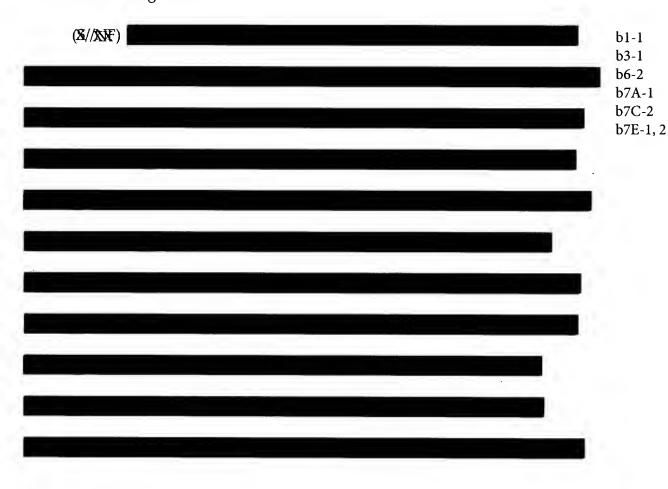




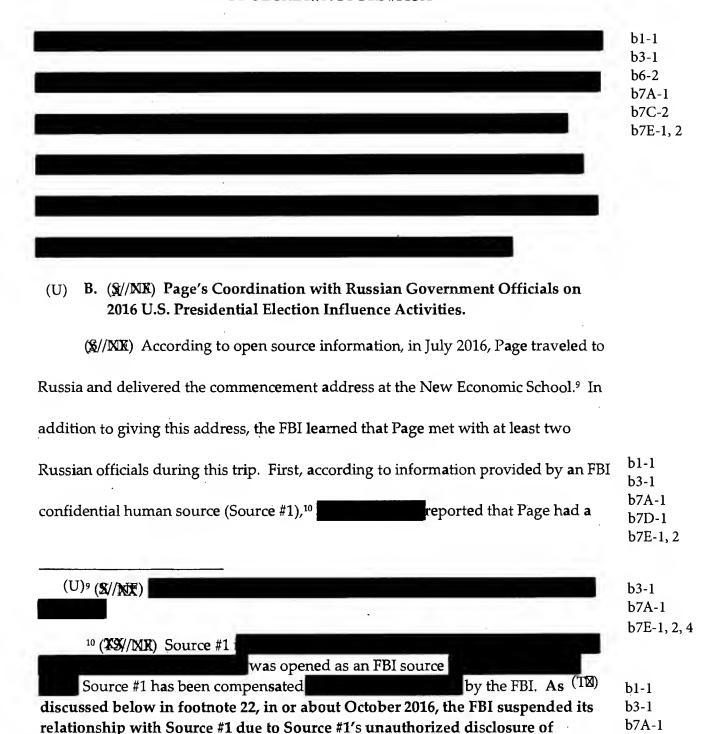
(U) (%/NK) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government).

According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

Russia.<sup>8</sup> The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



<sup>(</sup>U) 8 (X/NK) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison. According to information provided by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Buryakov was released on March 31, 2017.



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information to the press. <u>Subsequently, the FBI closed Source #1 as an FBI source</u>. Nevertheless, the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable as previous reporting from Source #1 has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings. Moreover, the

b7E-1, 2, 5

FBI notes that the incident that led the FBI to terminate its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

(U) (KS//MR) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

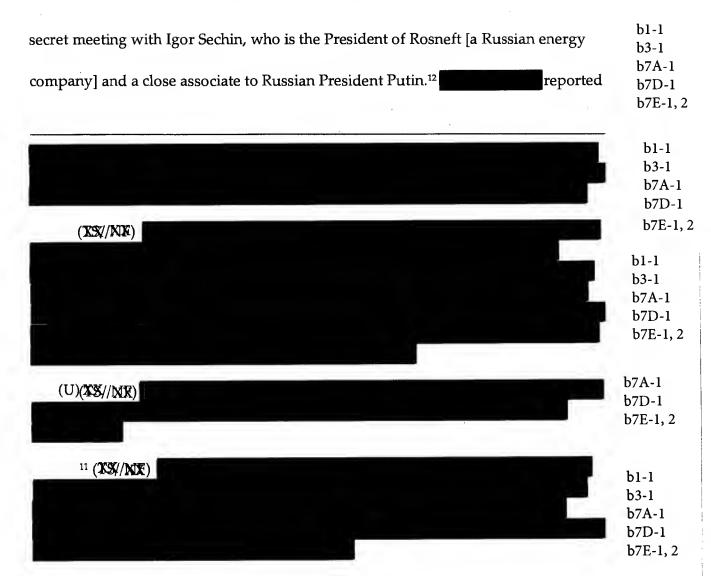
(U)(XS//NX) Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI.

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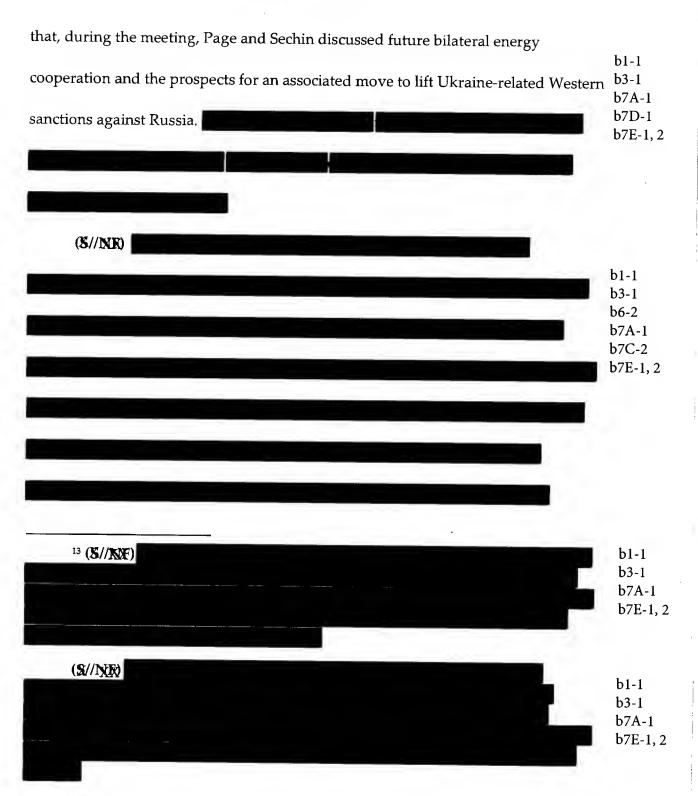
(XX//XX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible.

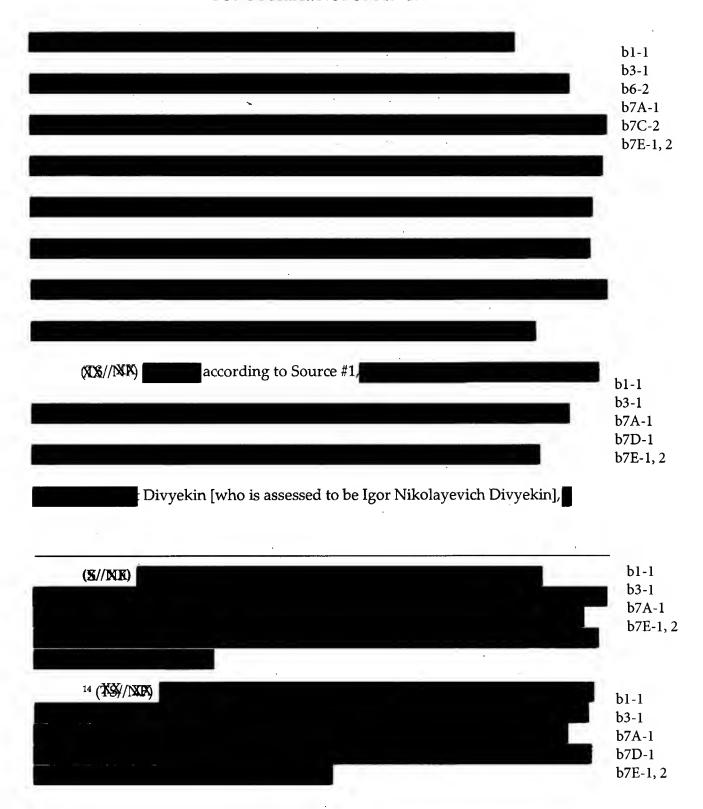
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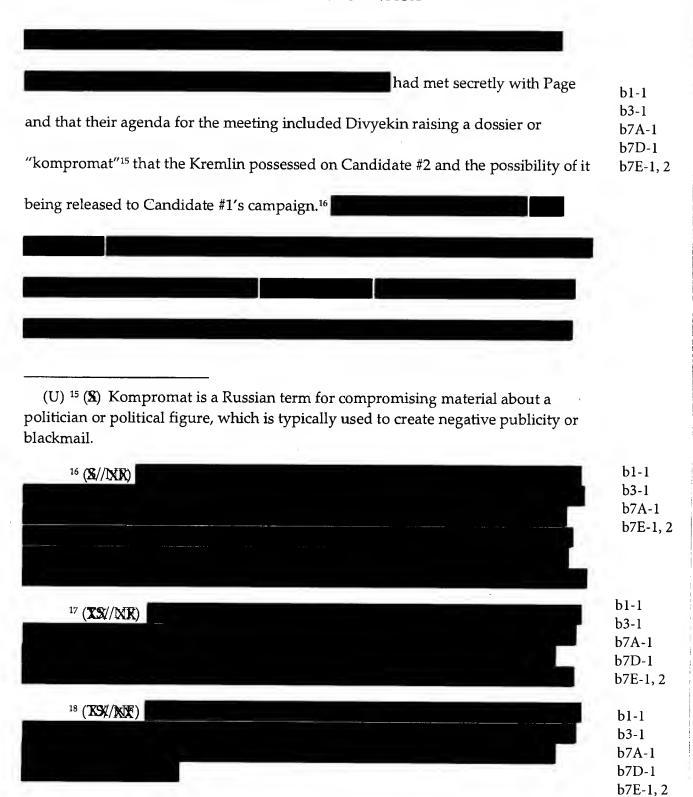
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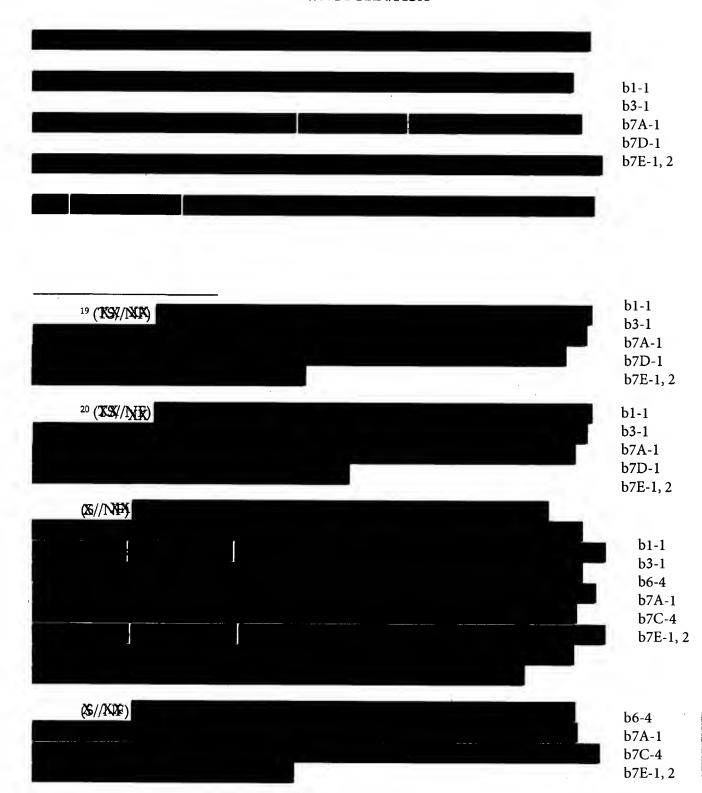


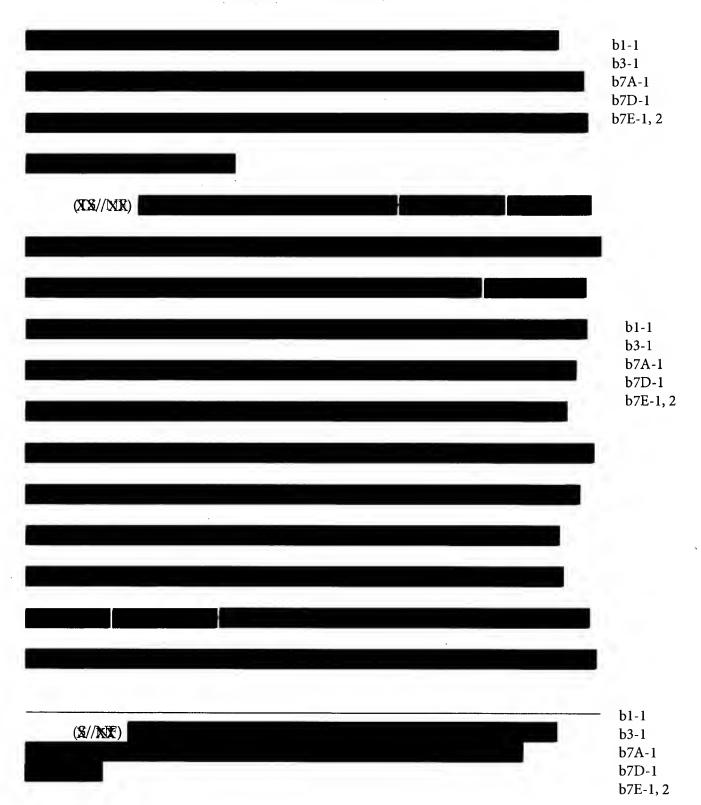
12 (X/NX) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin – a key component to his current standing."





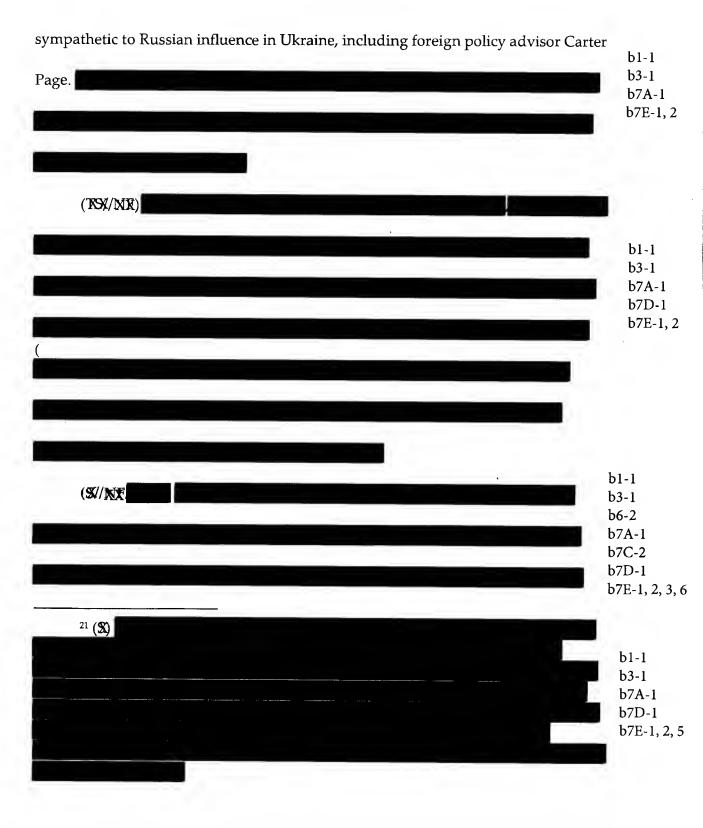


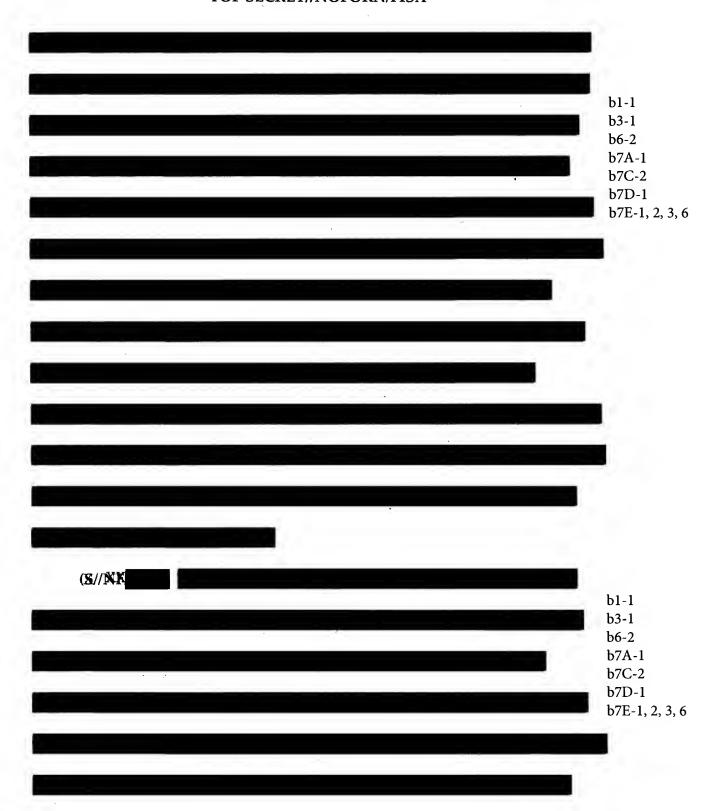


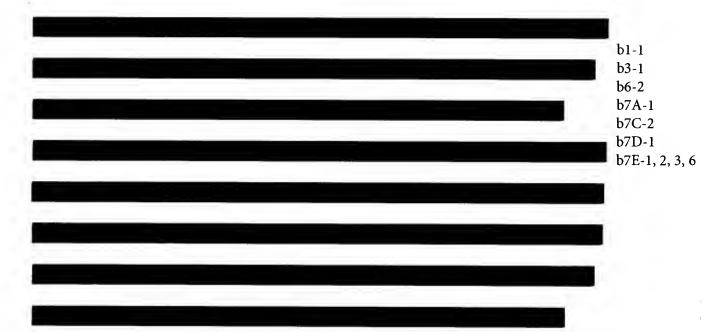


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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people







IV. (U) (S//NX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(U) (%/NK) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former

Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.<sup>22</sup>

b1-1

b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(XS//NXX) In or about late October 2016, however, after the FBI Director sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> (St) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

- (U) (§//NE) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.
- (U) (\$\frac{1}{NK}\$) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign"

herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI closed Source #1 as an active source.

advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager. During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign . . . . "

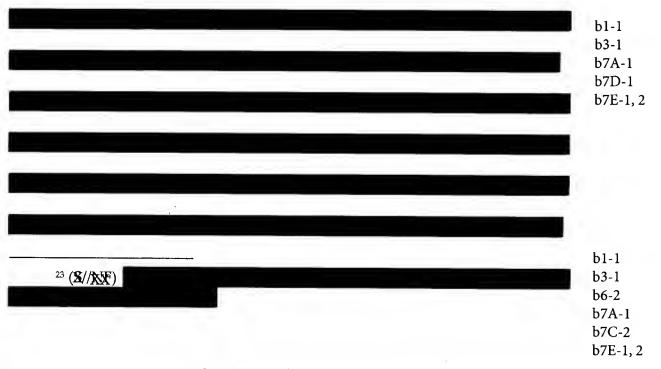
> b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

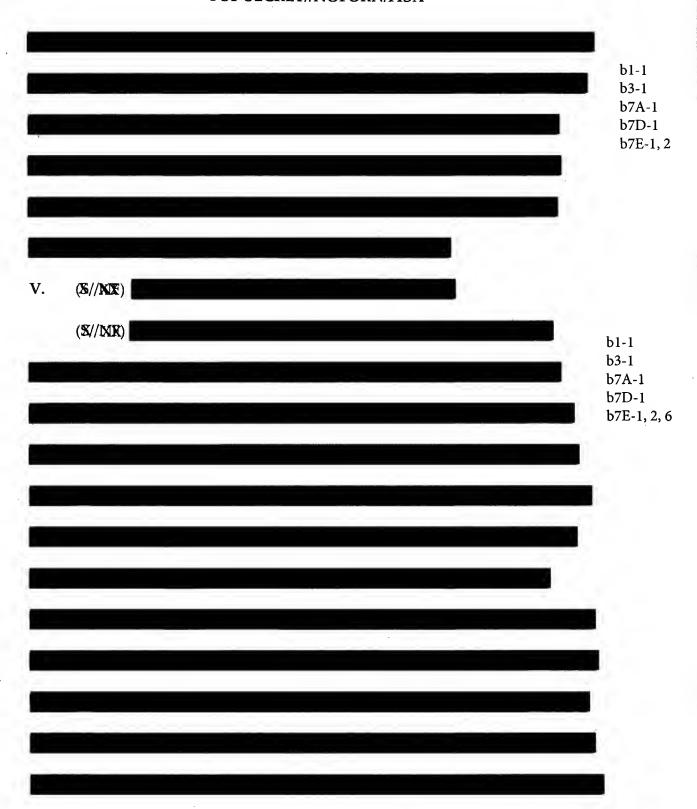
(U) (\$//XXF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director.

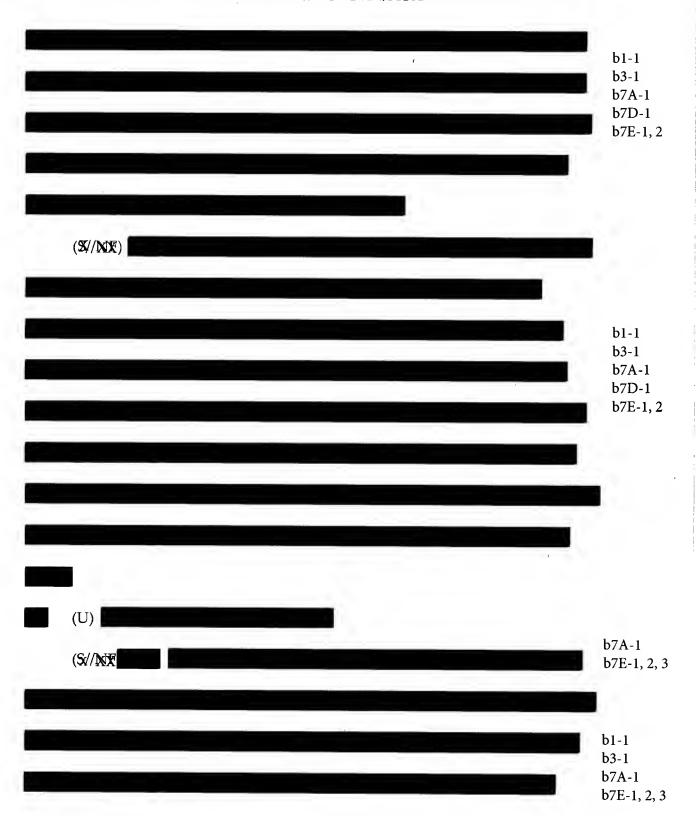
In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News

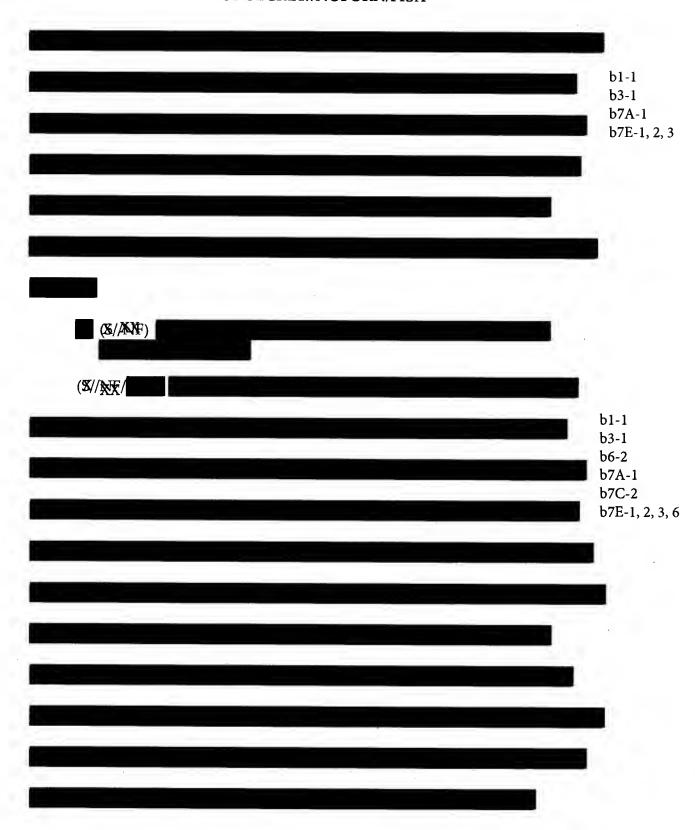
Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing
more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any
sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss
any "final" questions the FBI may have.<sup>23</sup>

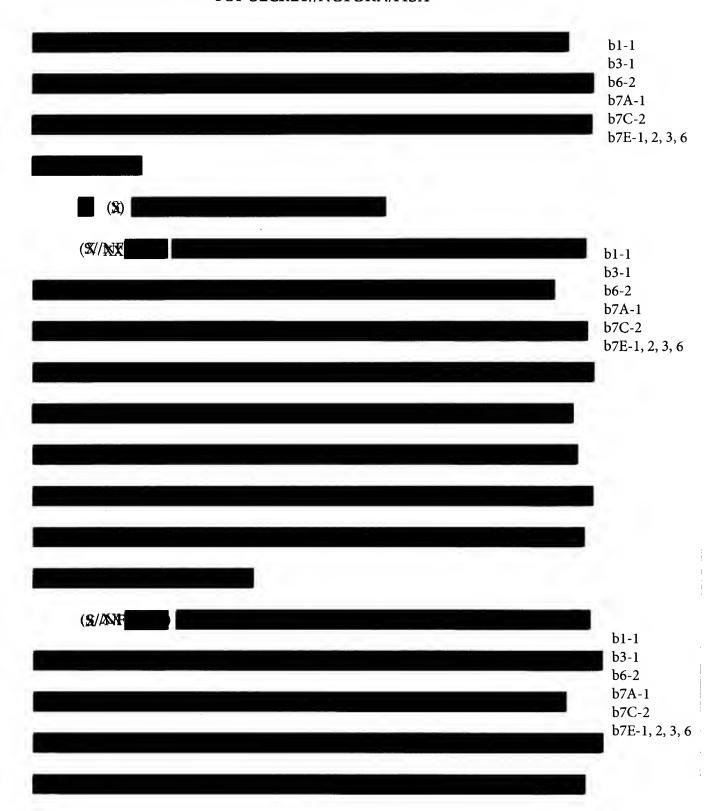
(U)(%/NK) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."

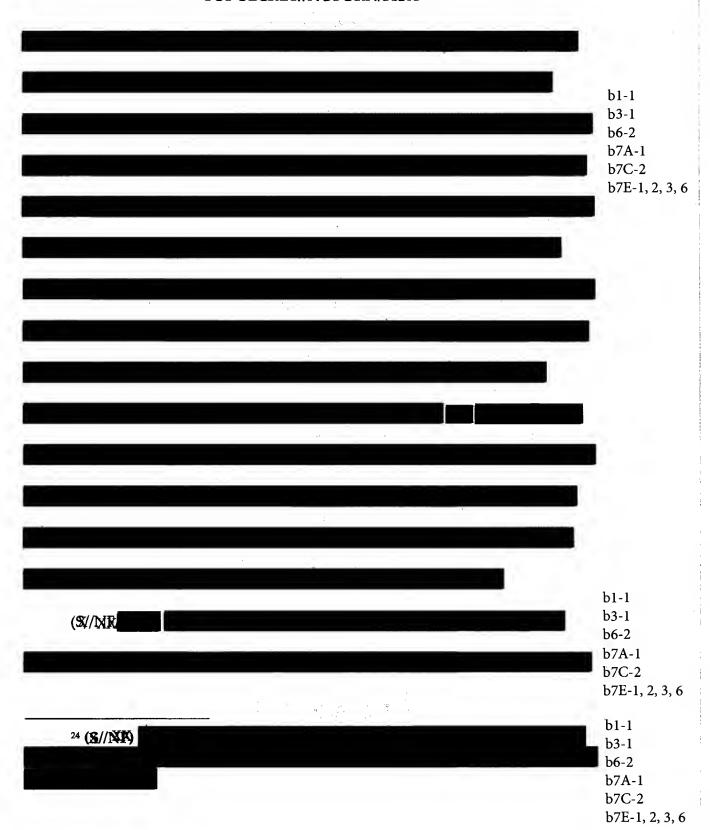






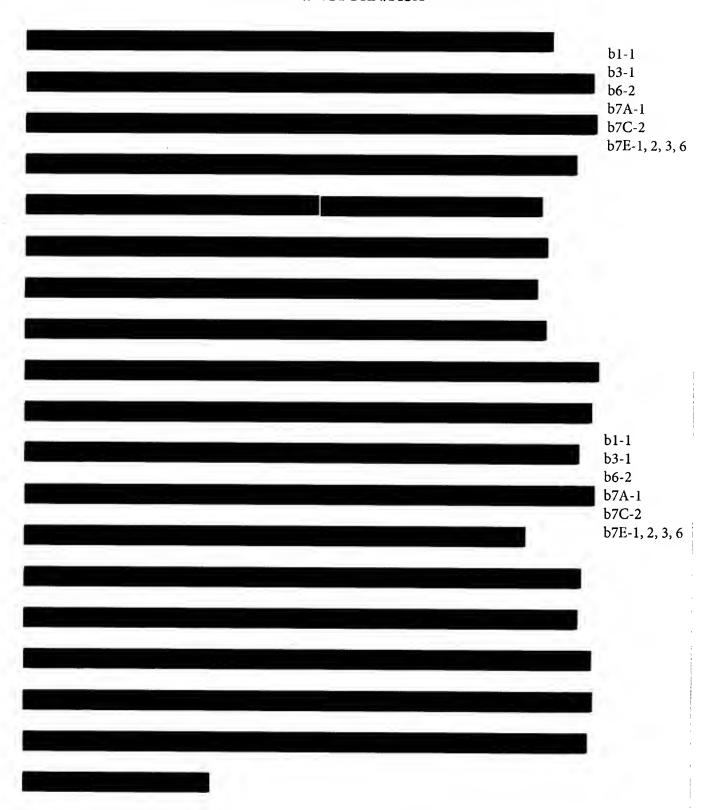


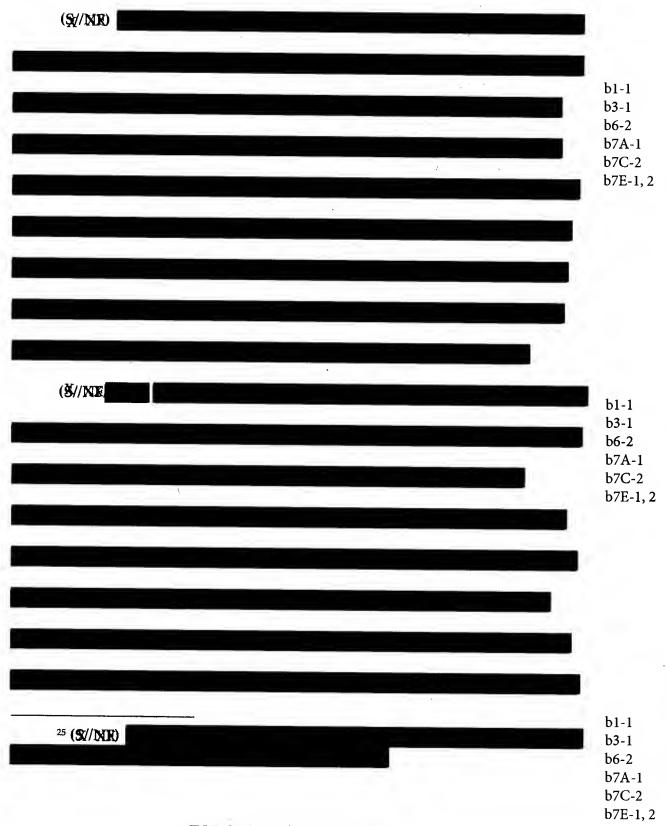


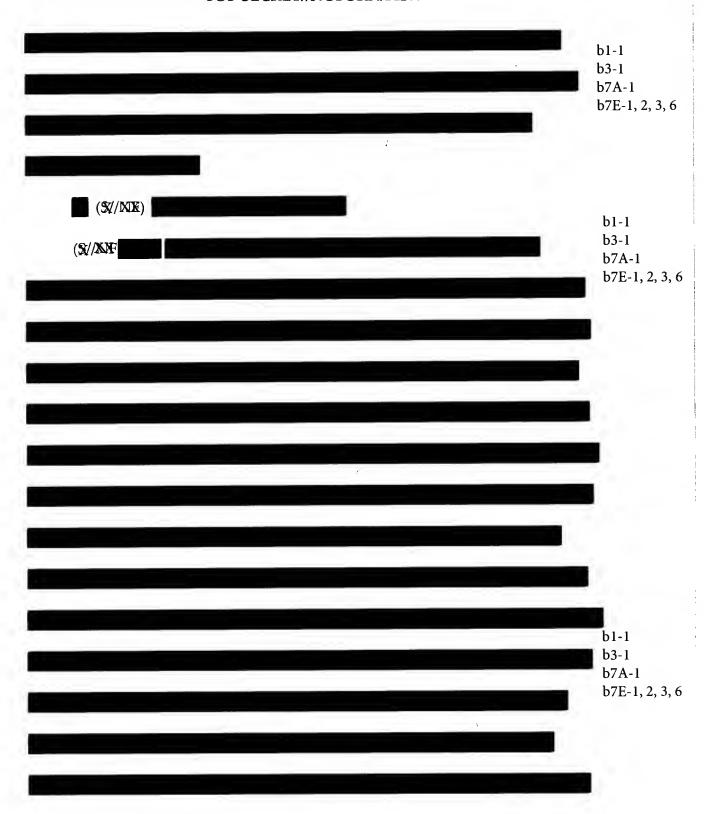


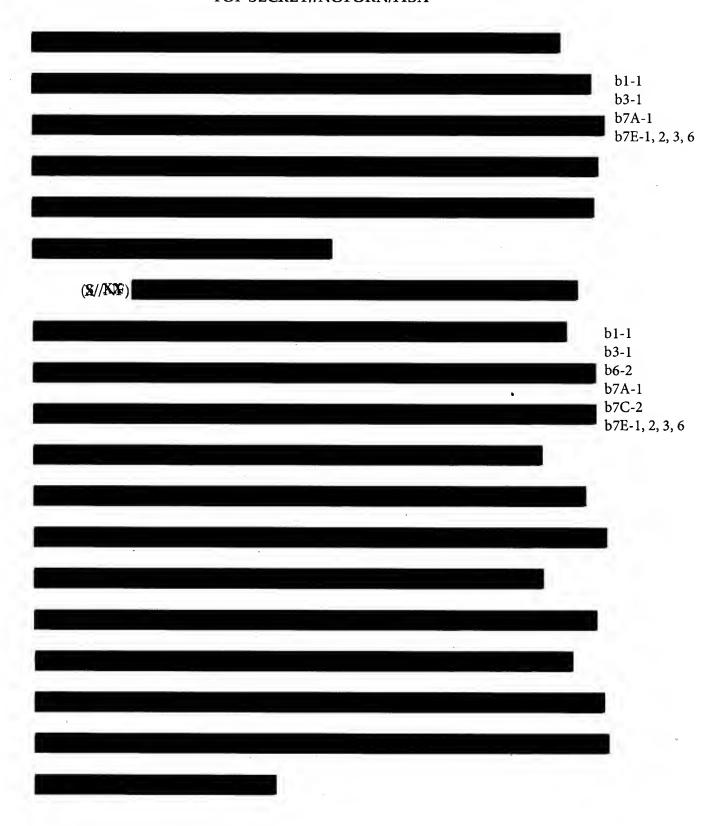
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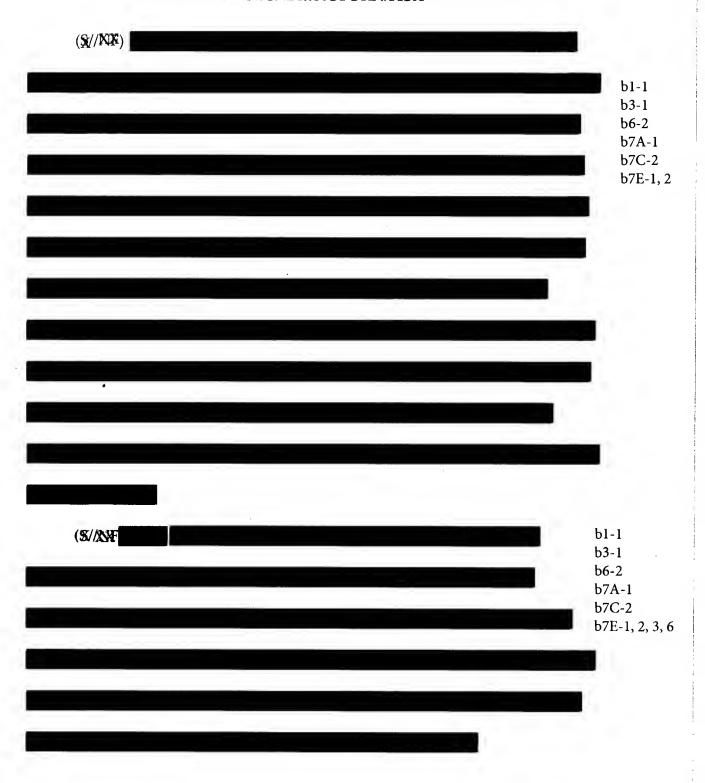
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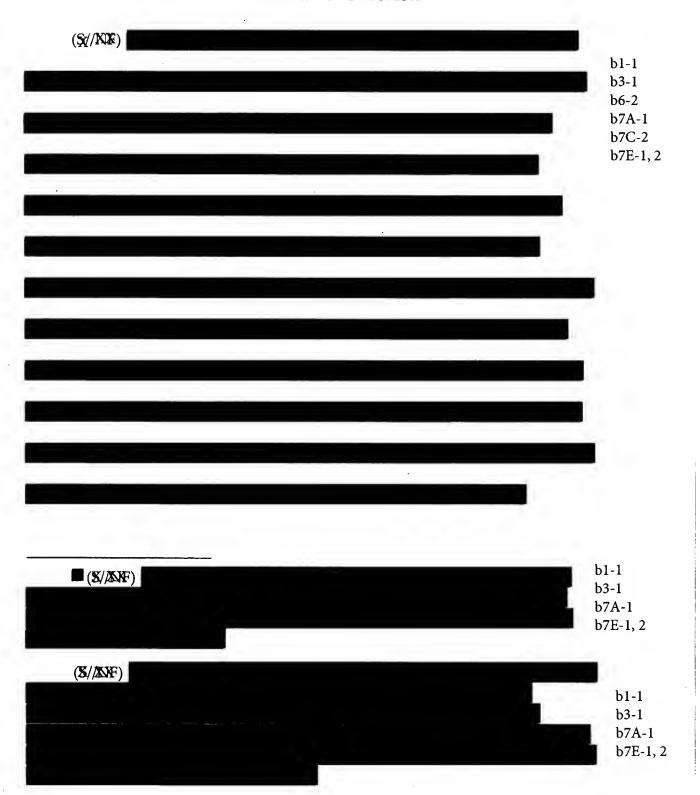


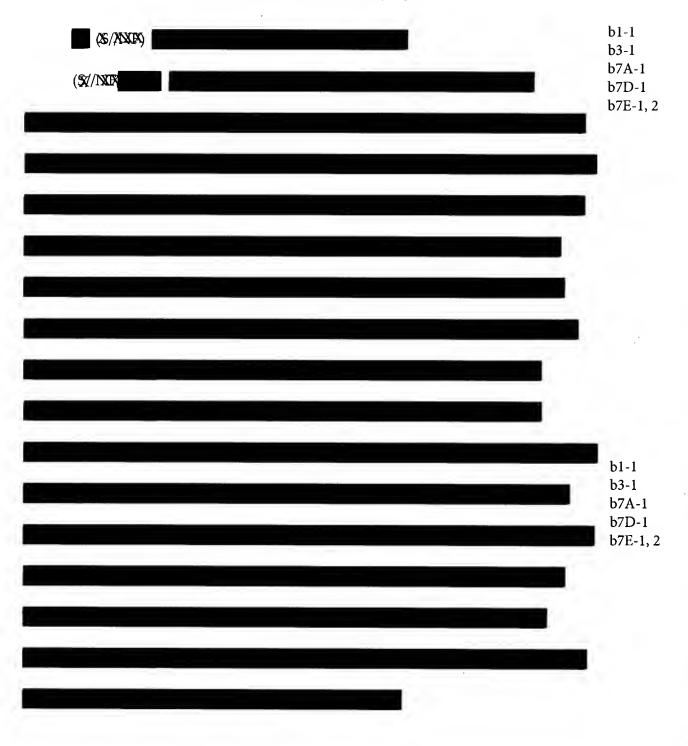


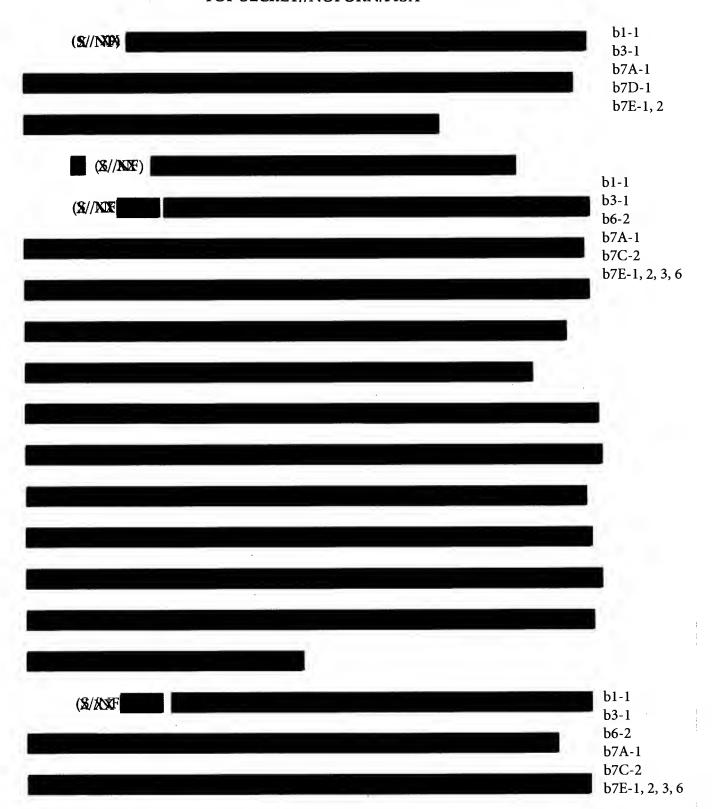


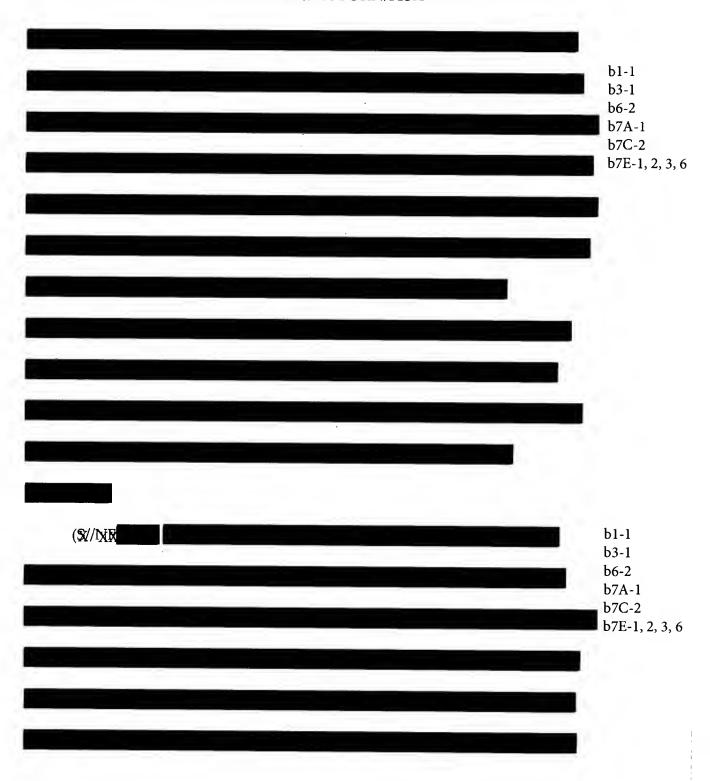


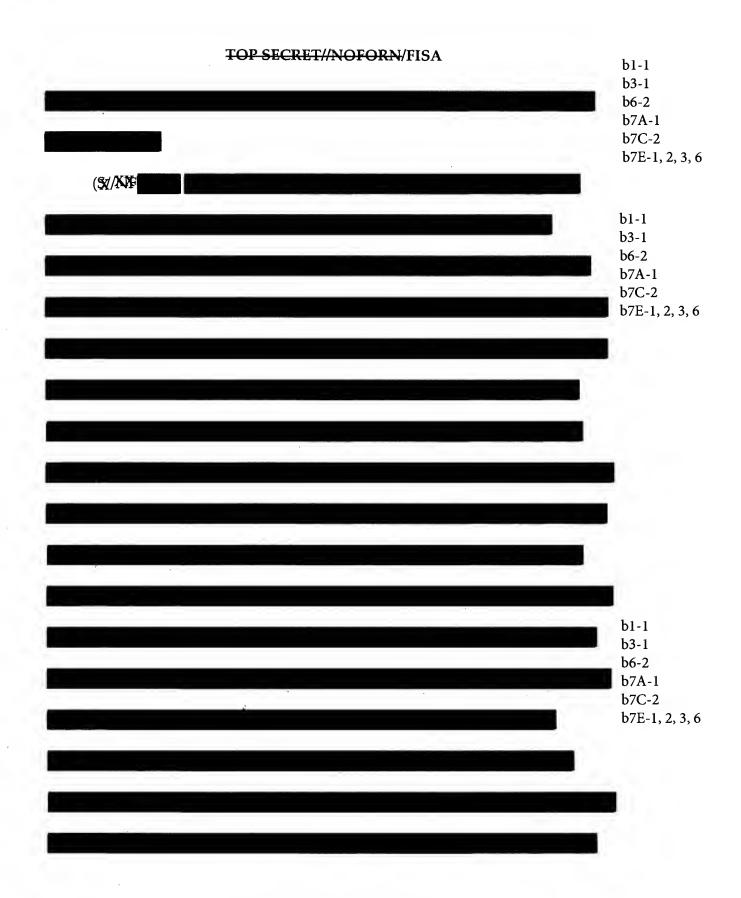


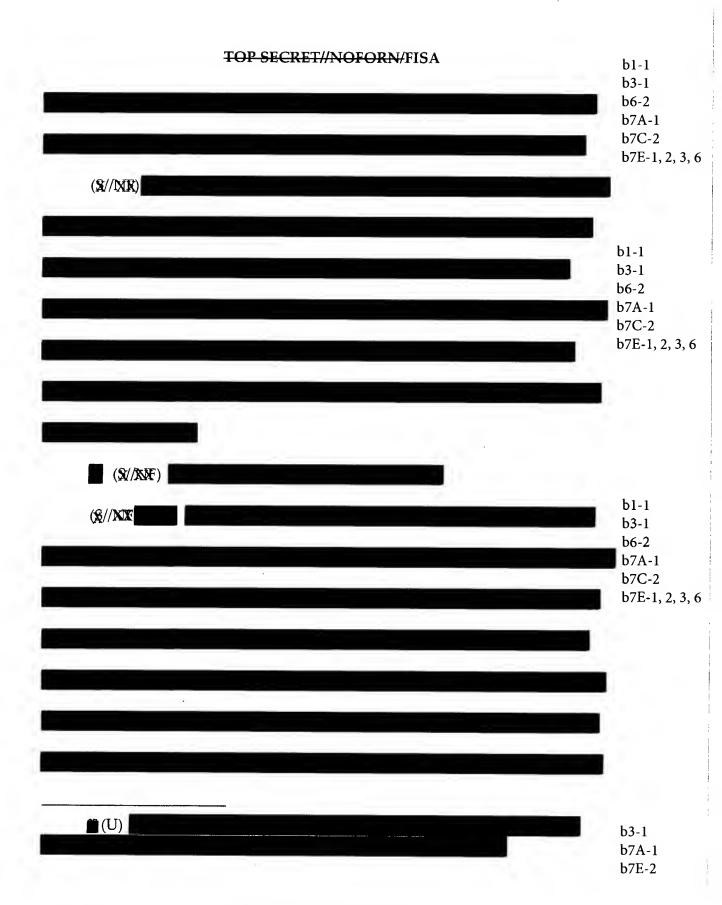


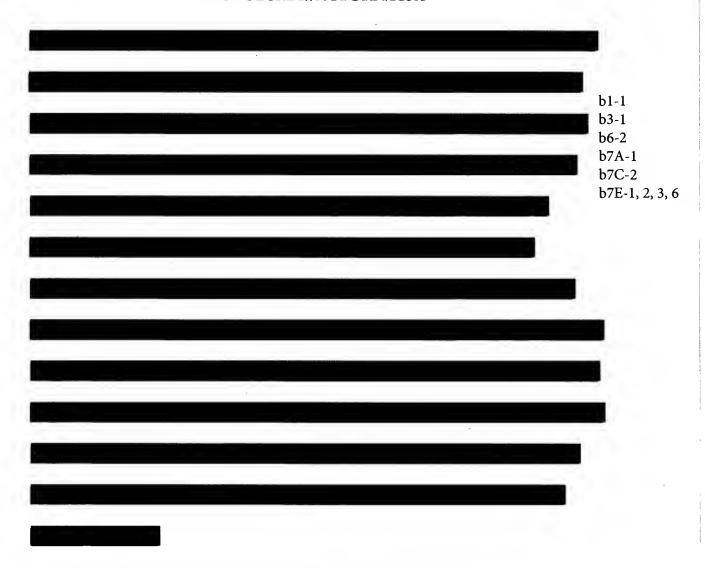








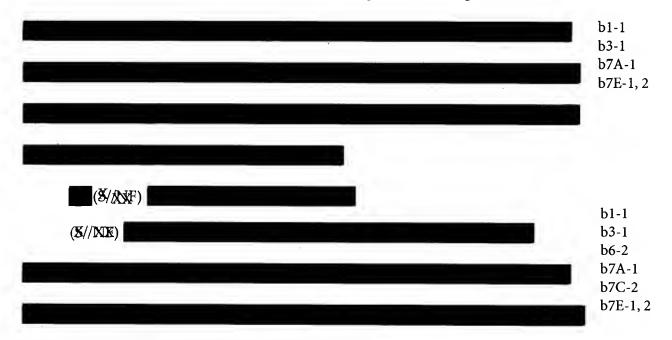


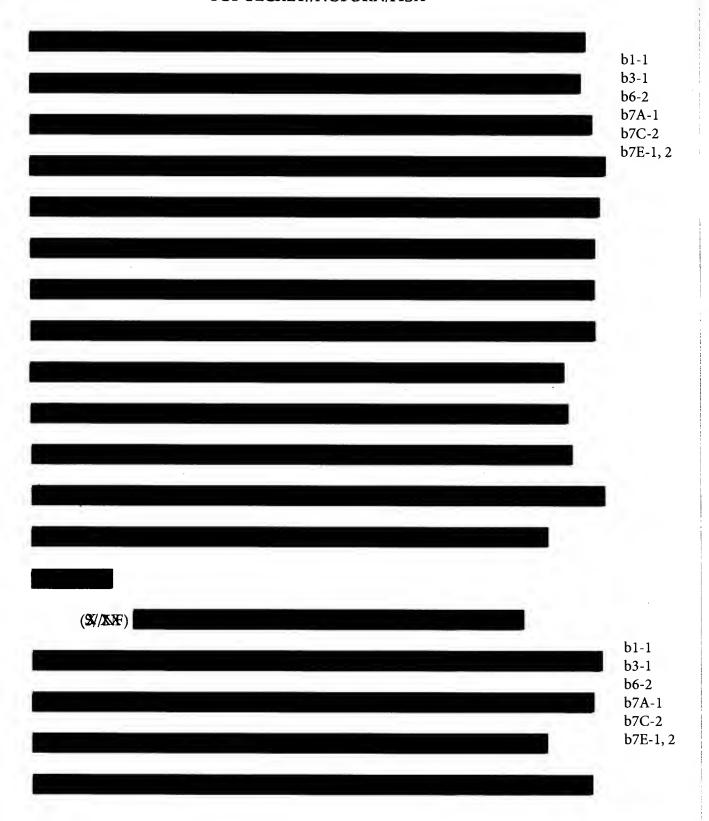


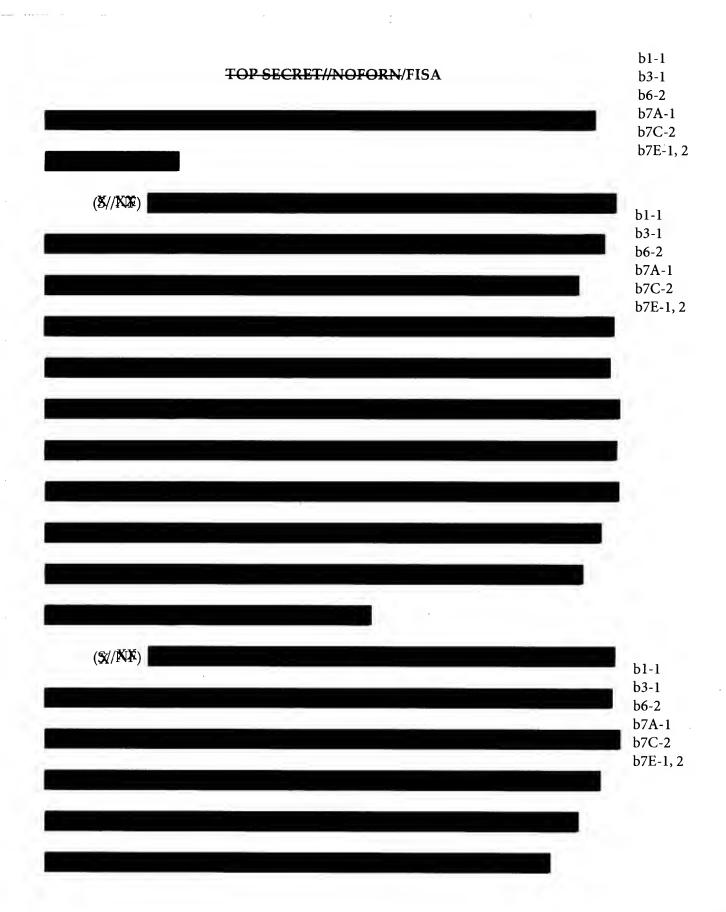
## (U) G. (\$/ANF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

(%//XXF) In or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members of [Candidate #2's] campaign and their political allies last year." In his letter, Page claims that he has

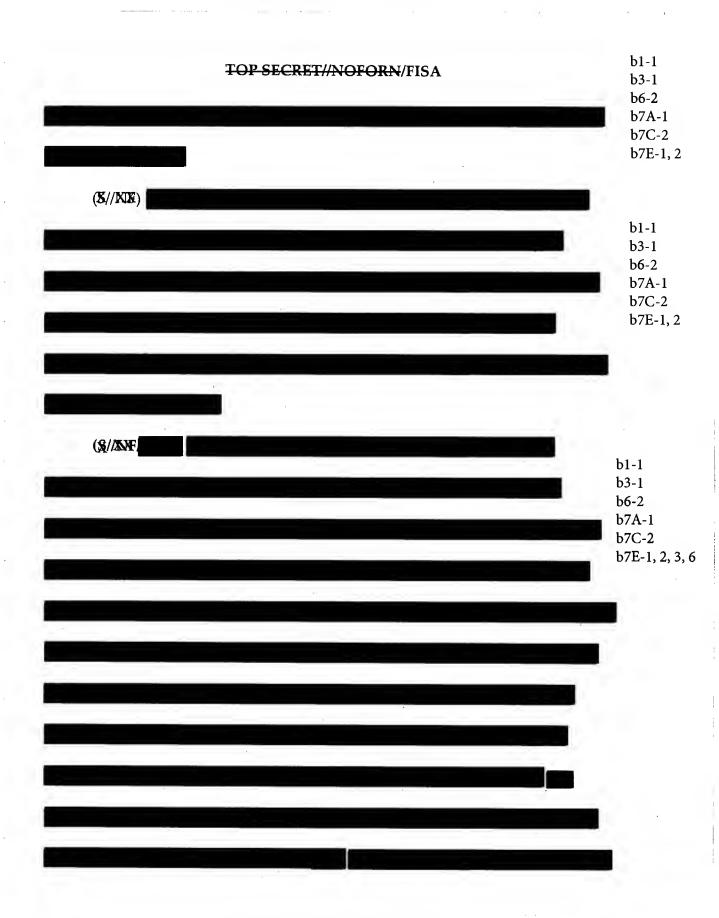
not directly supported a political campaign since September 2016, but continues to be subjected to personal attacks by former members of Candidate #2's campaign based on fictitious information. Page wrote that his academic lecture and related meetings with scholars and business people in Moscow had no connection to the U.S. election. Page attributes the assertions in the September 23rd News Article that Page met with two senior Russian officials (i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate #2's campaign, certain members of the U.S. Congress, and the media are lies that were completely fabricated by Candidate #2's paid consultants and private investigators.

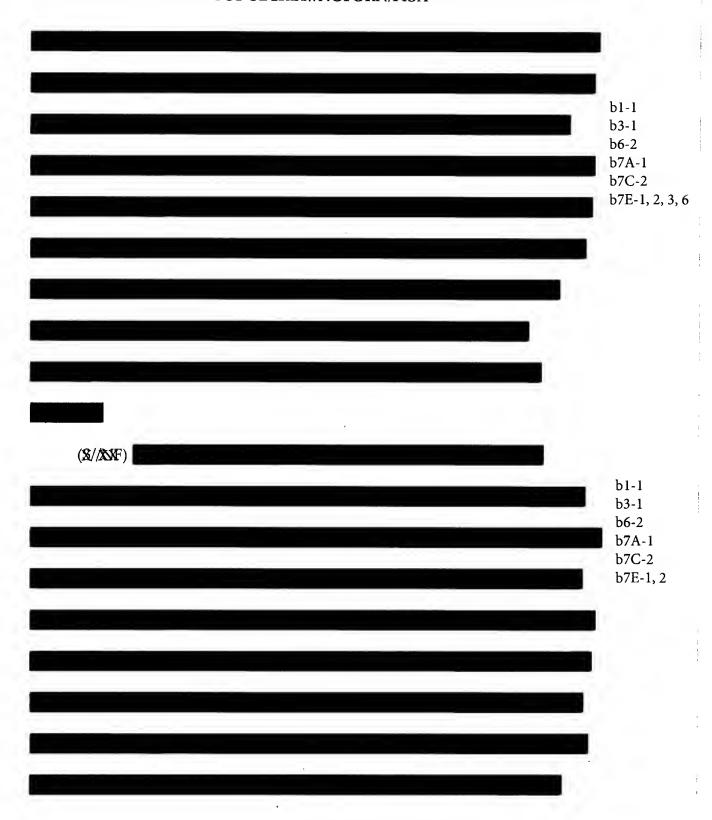


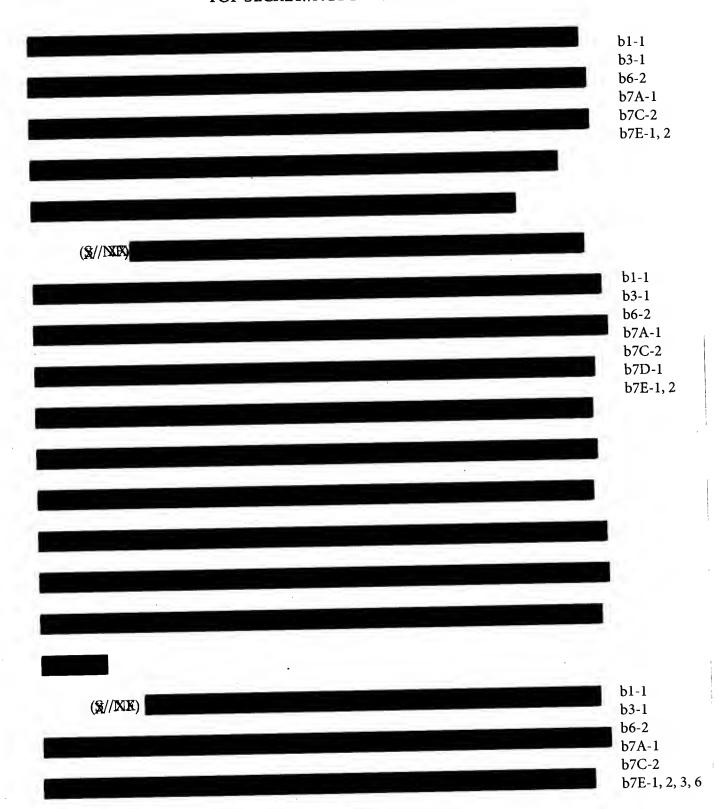


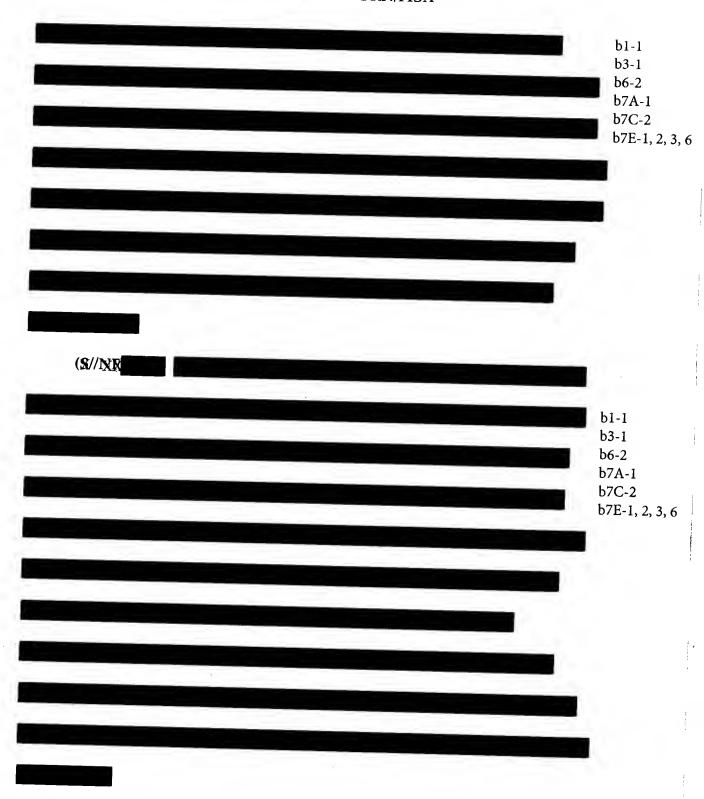


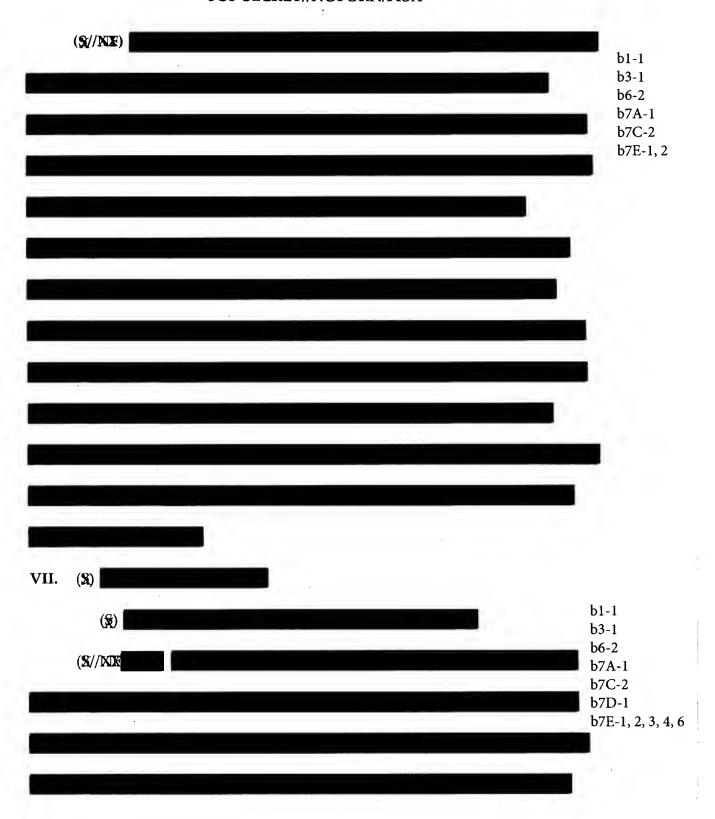
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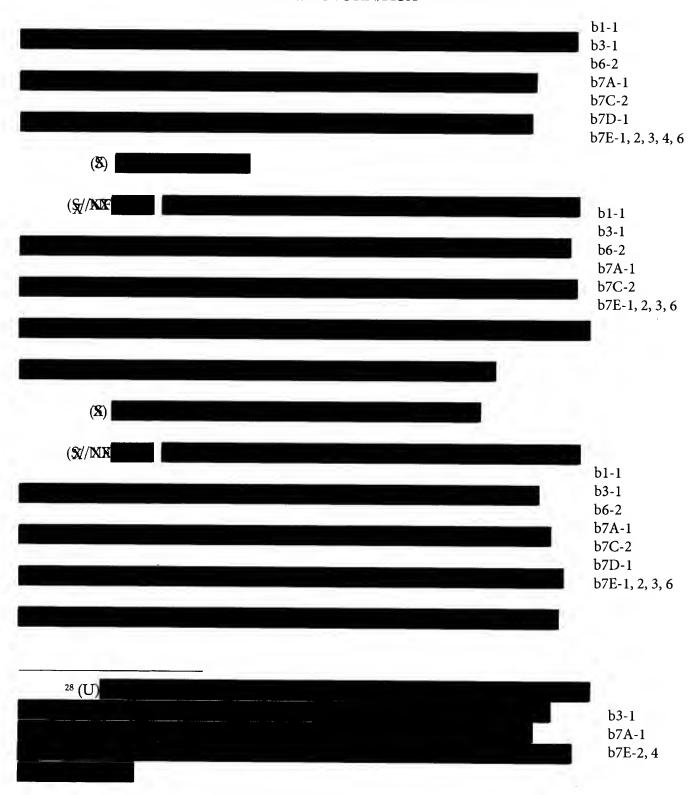




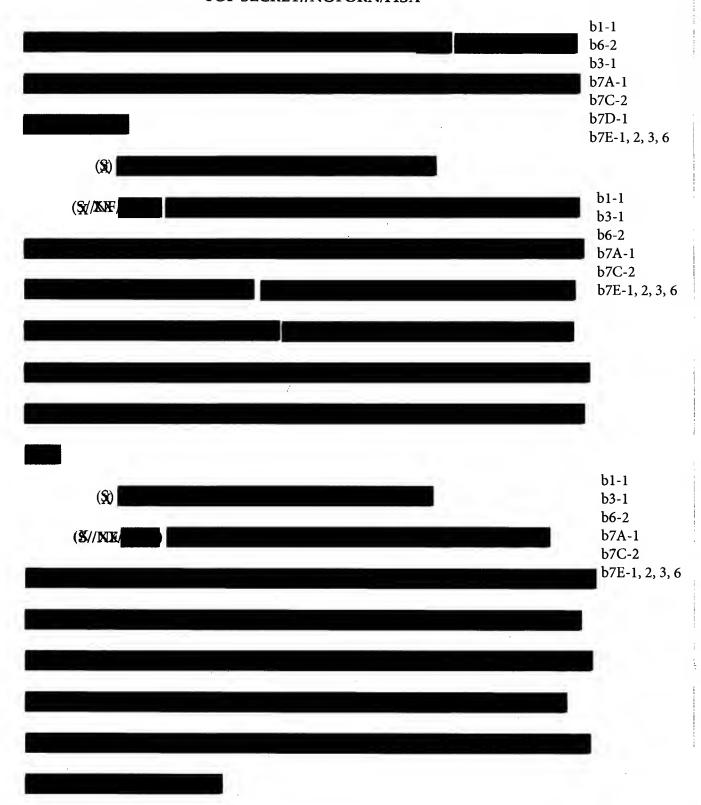


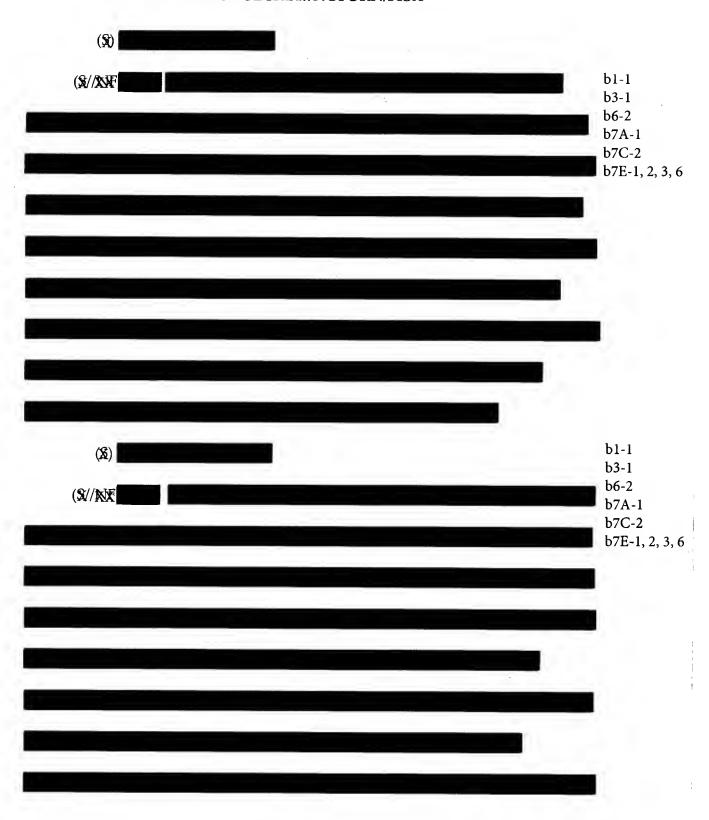


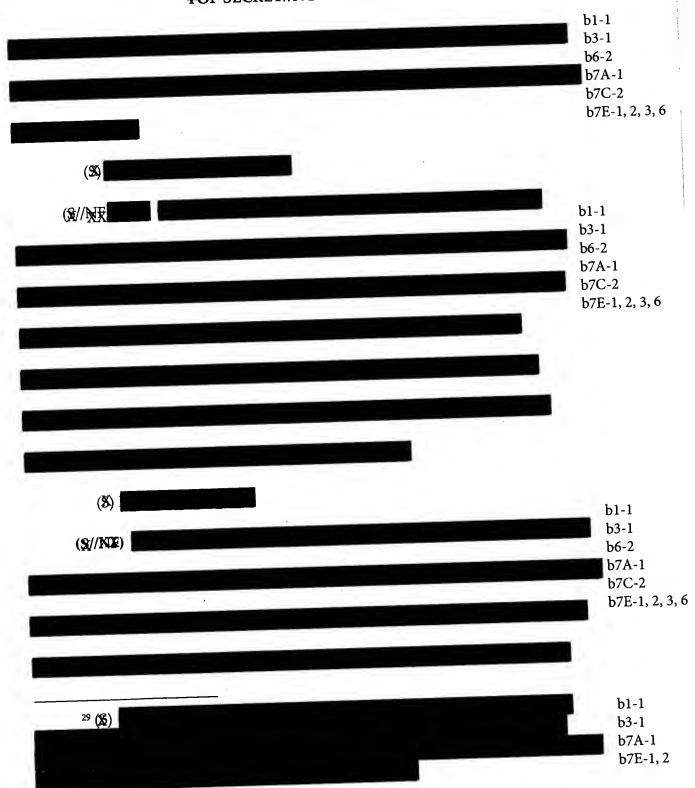




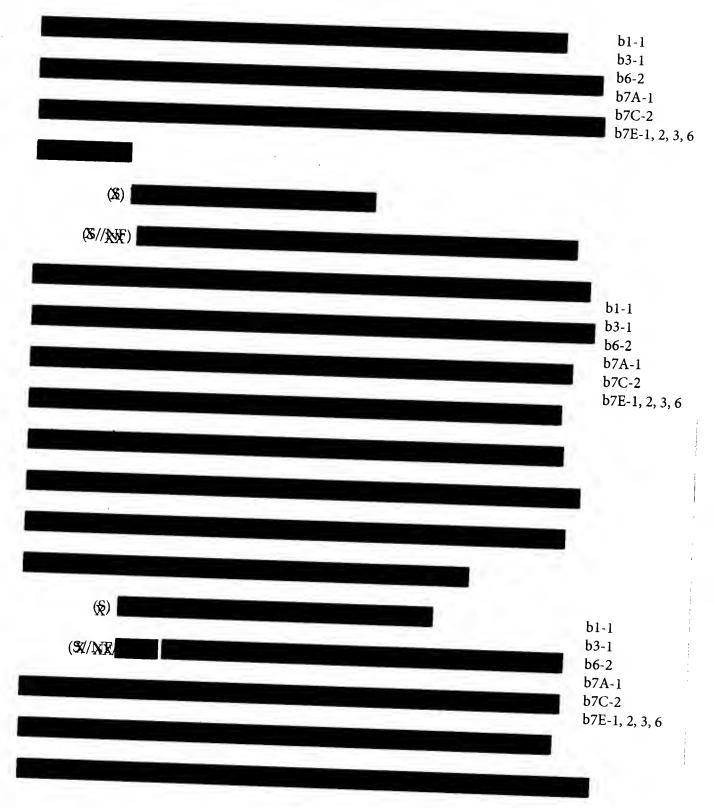
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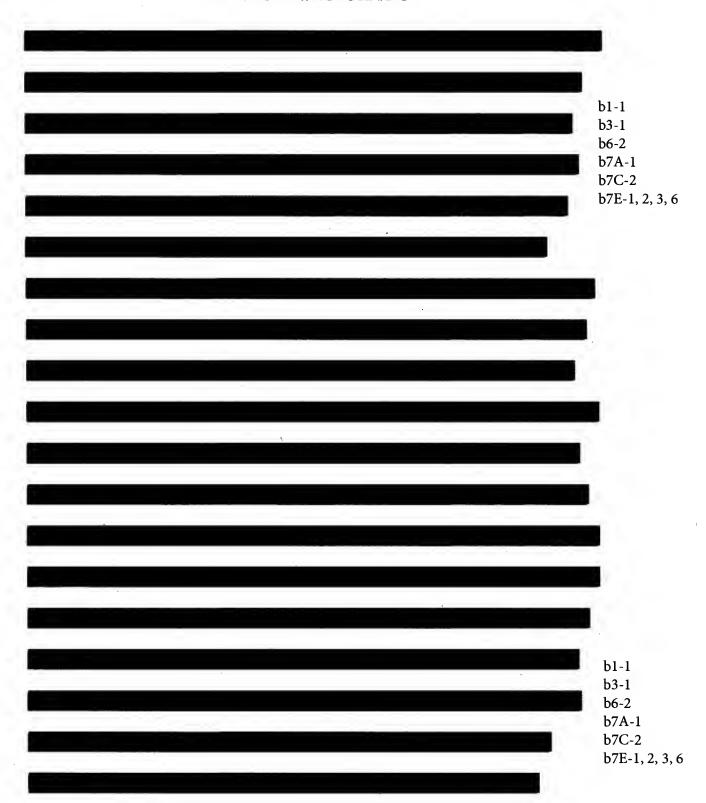


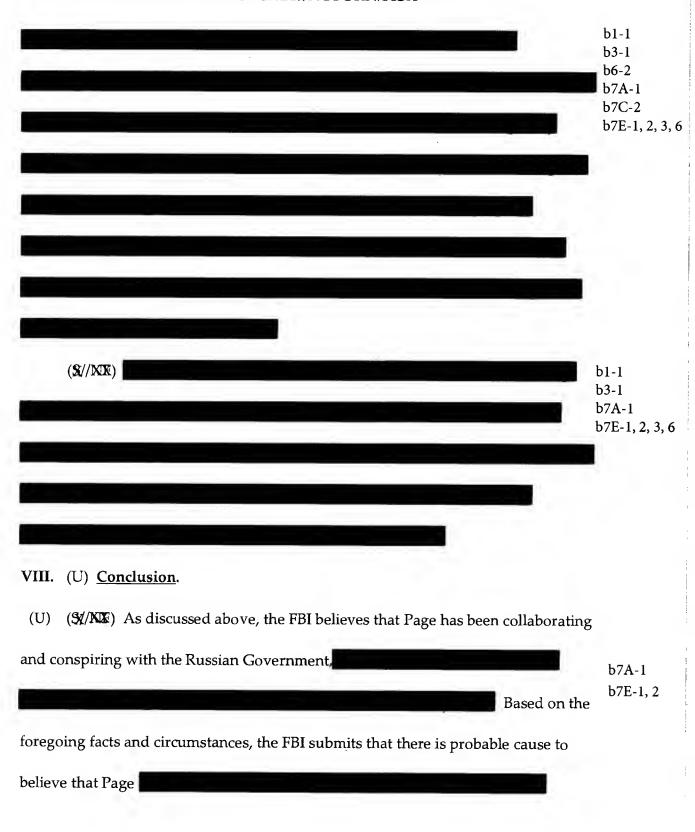




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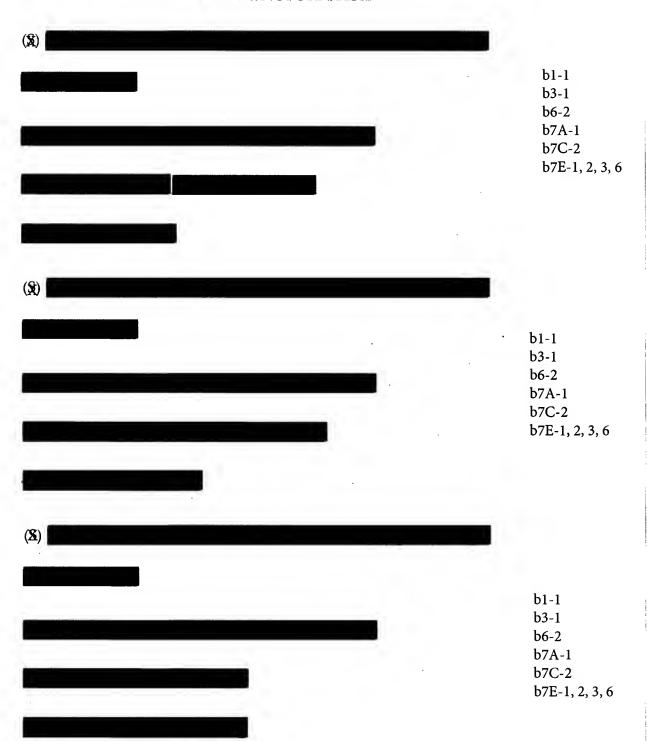


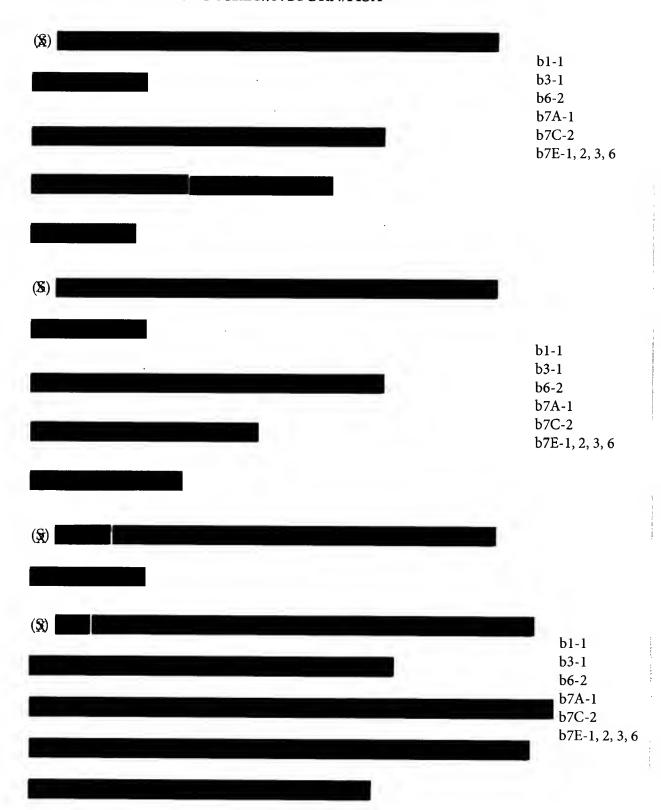




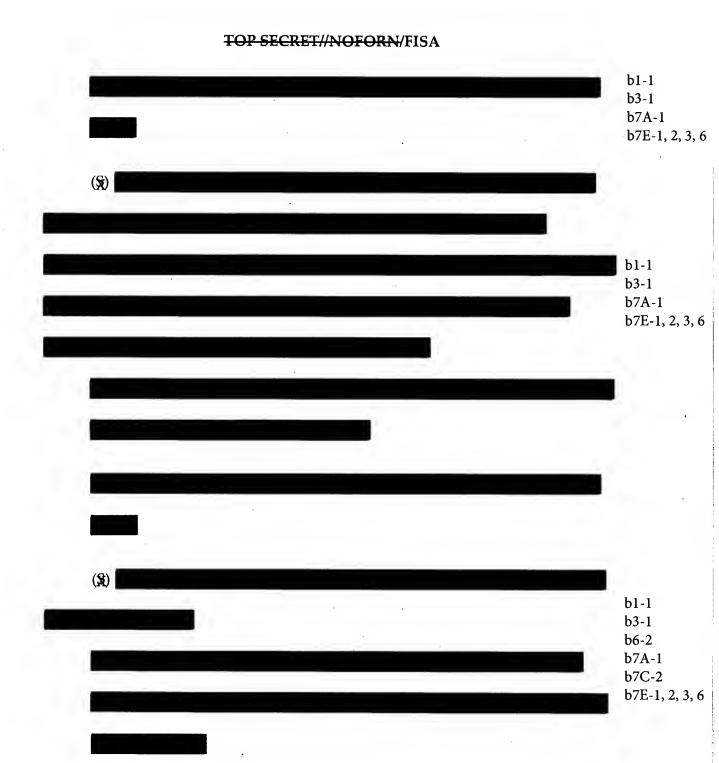
knowingly engage in b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E). (**%**/**XX**) b7A-1 the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that b7E-1,2 such activities involve or are about to involve violations of the criminal statutes of the United States, b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

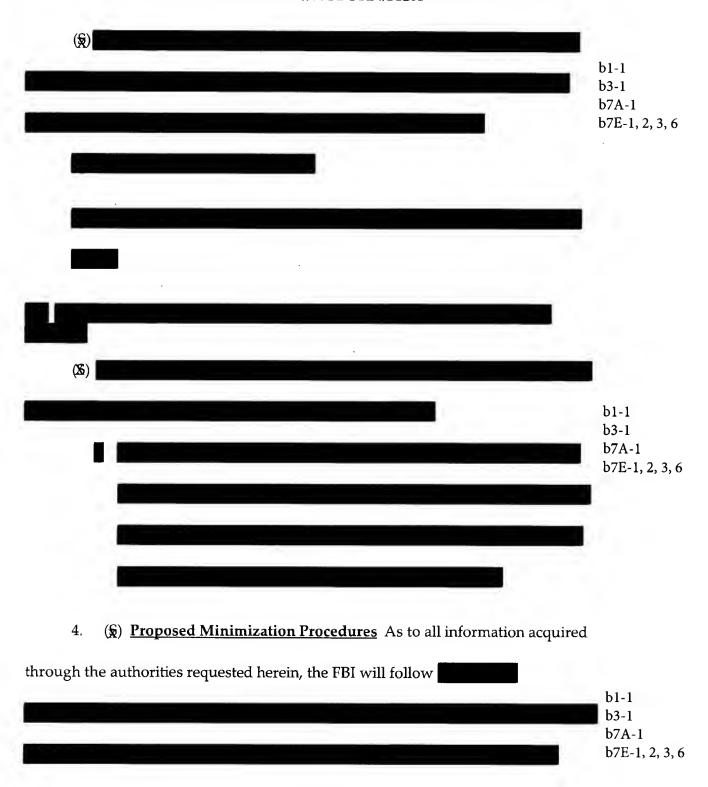


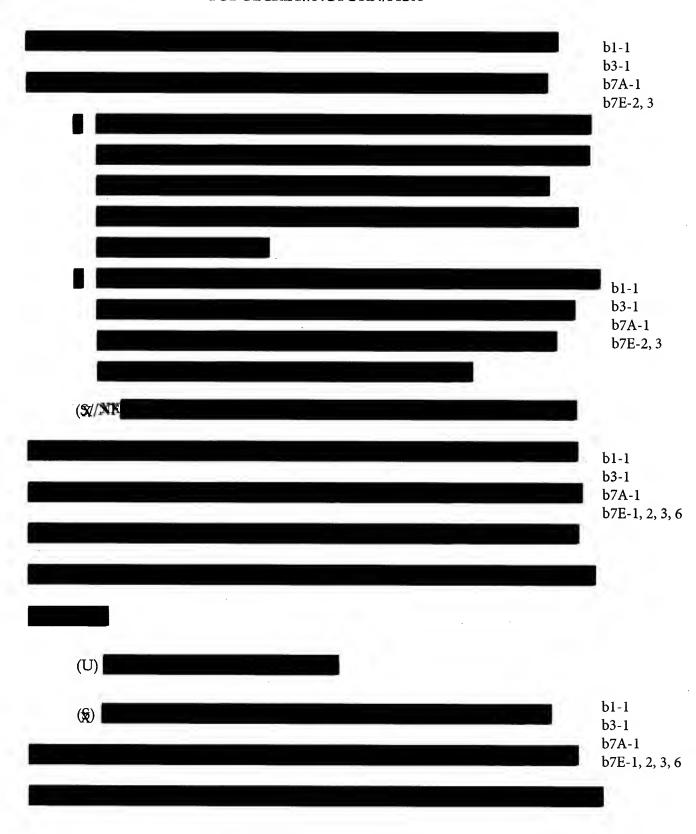


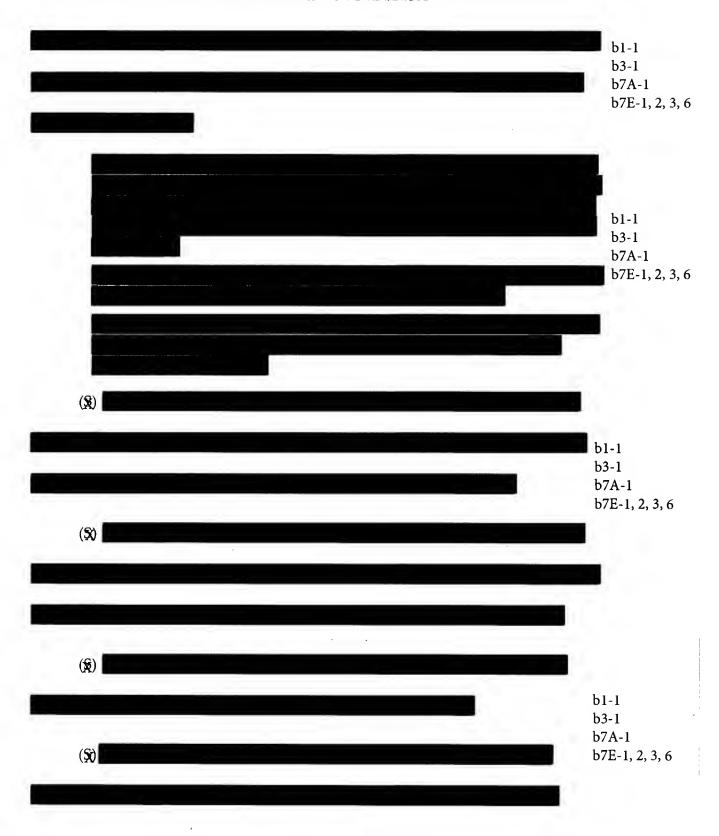


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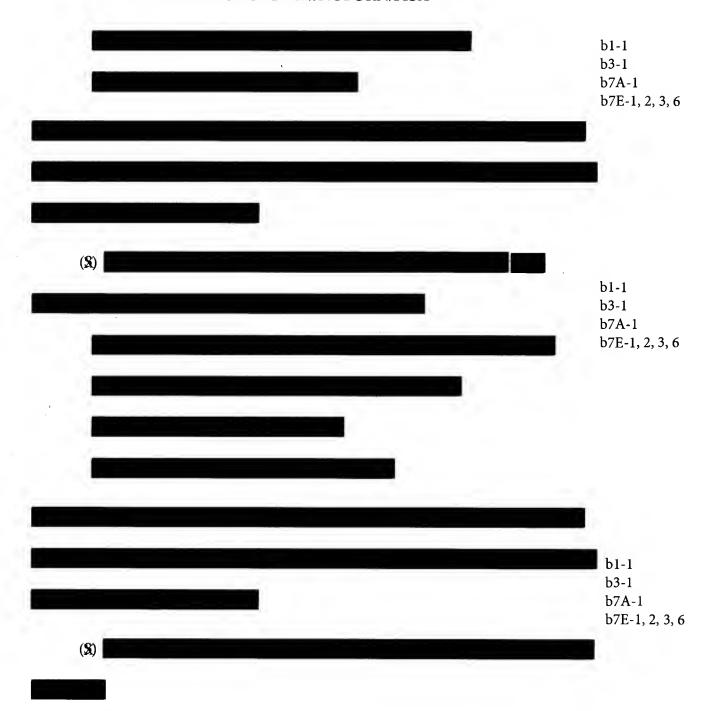
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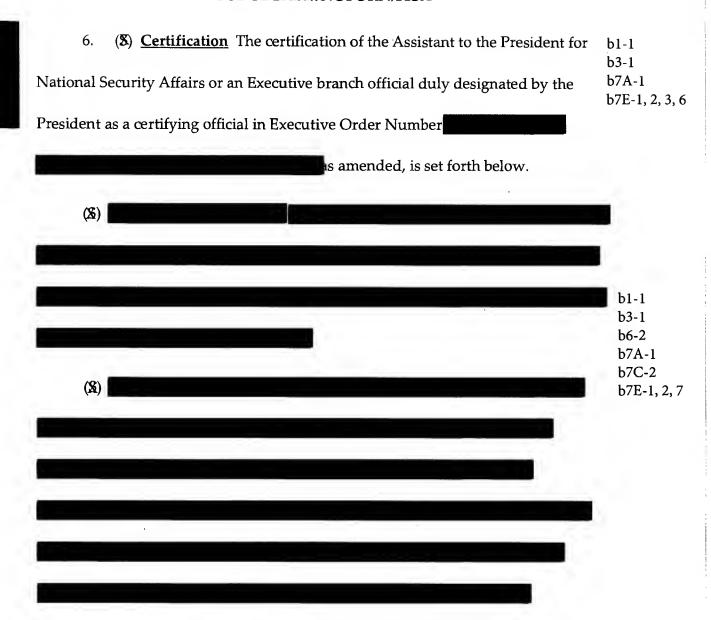
(S) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities b3-1 b7A-1 requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with b7E-1, 23, 6 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.

(%) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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# (U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

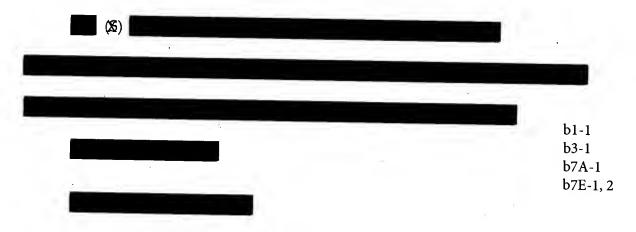
(3) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a

violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at b1-1 b3-1 least a significant purpose of this request for b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

b1-1
b1-1 b3-1
b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

# (\$) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,

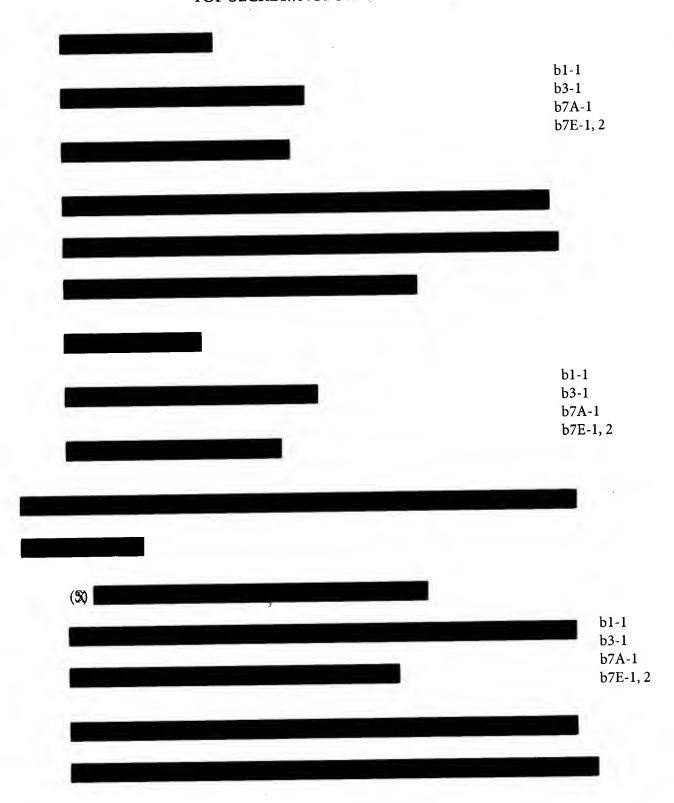
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended. Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.

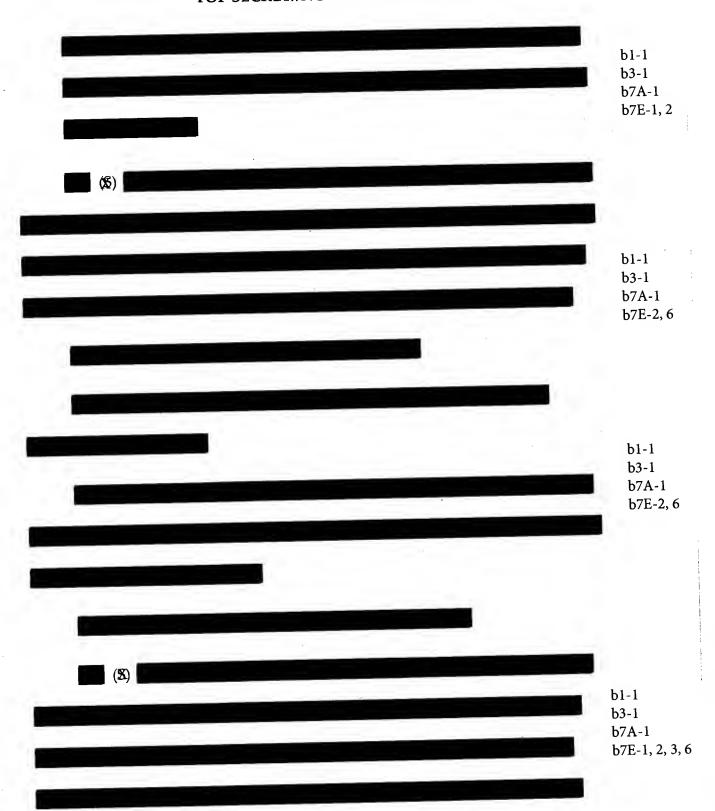


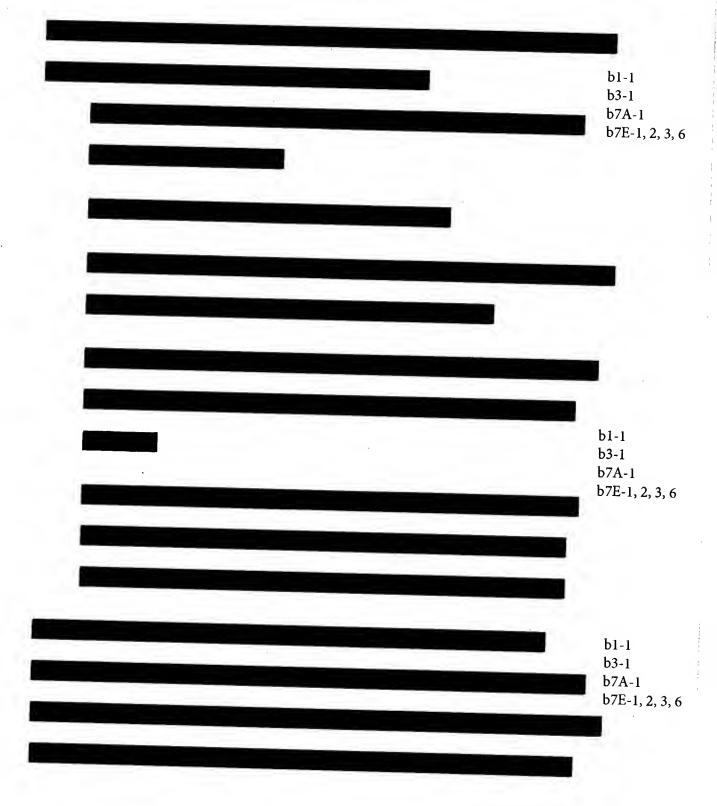
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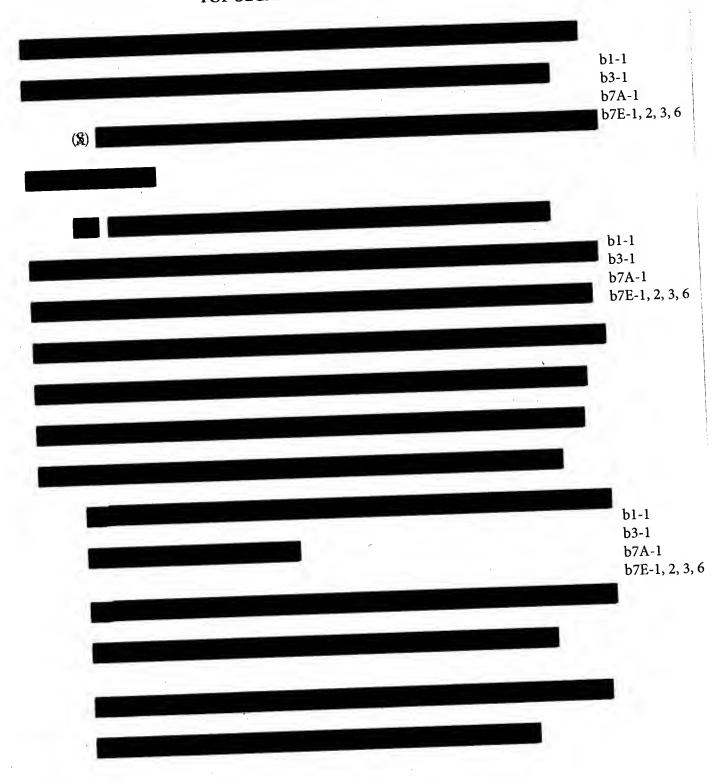
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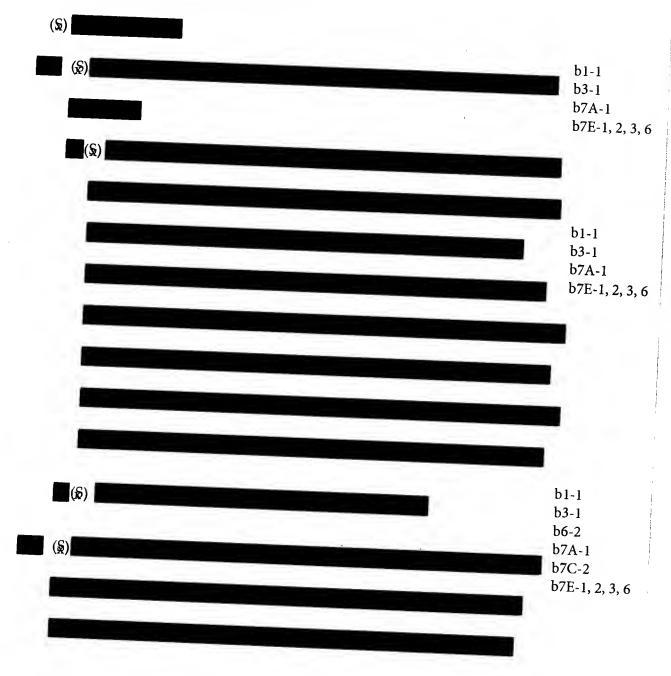


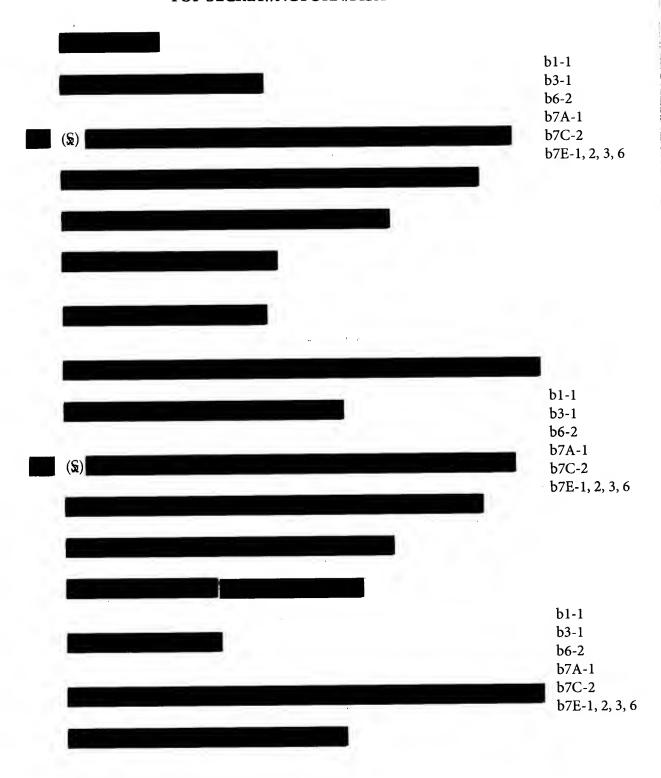


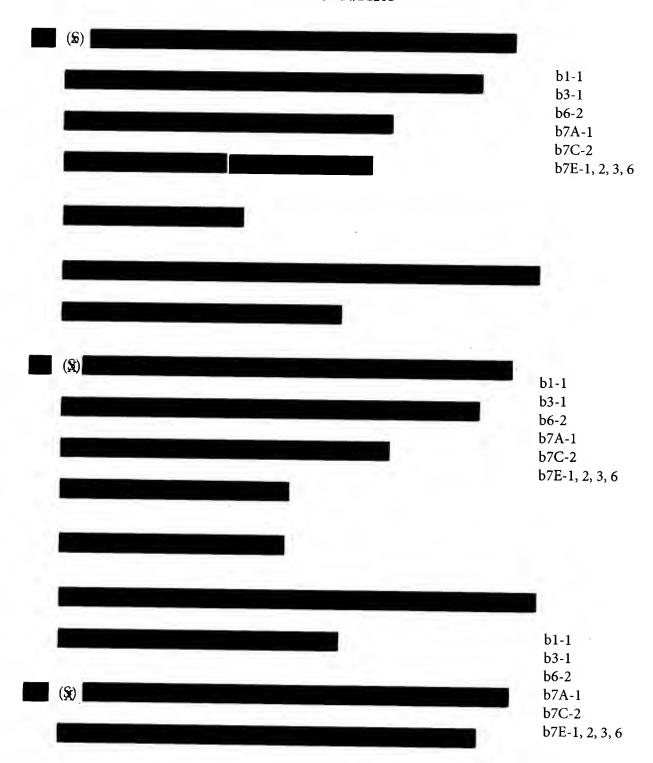




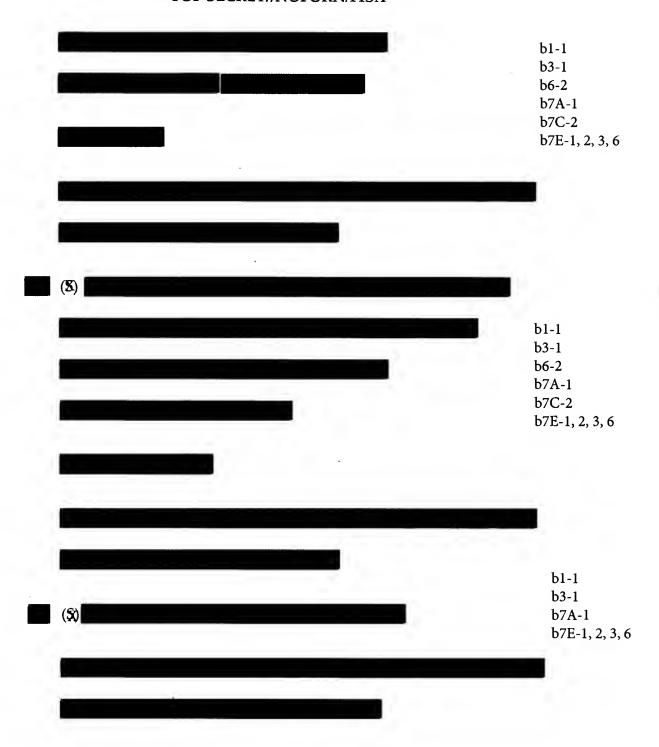
(U) (S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

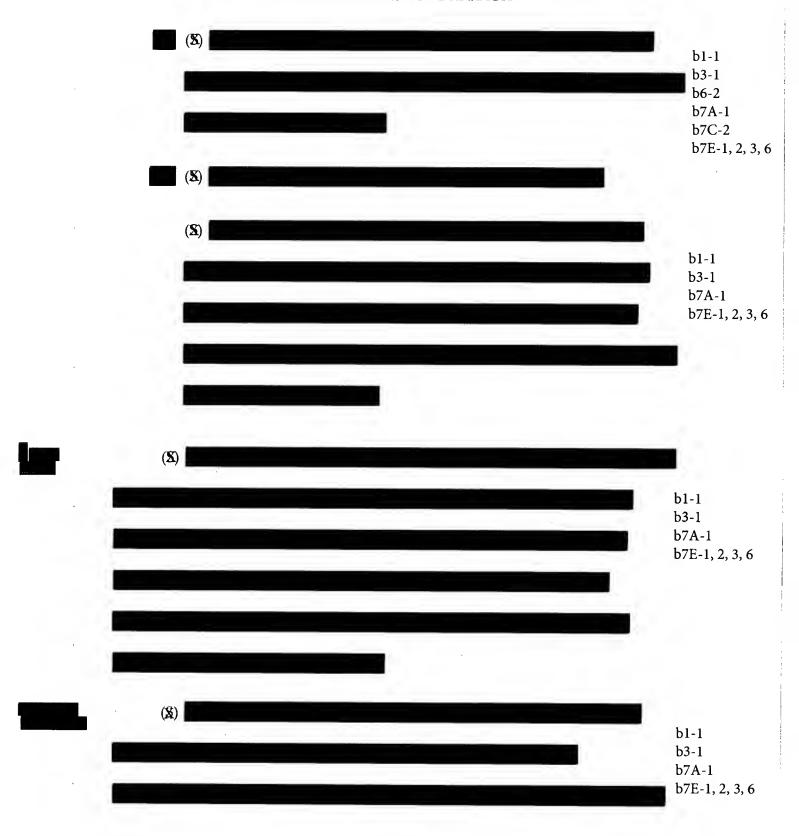


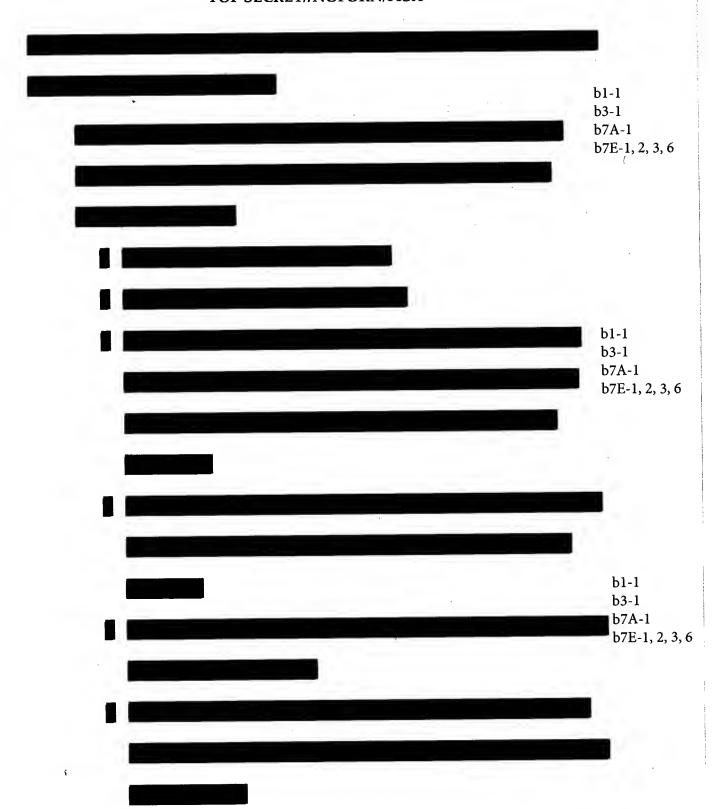


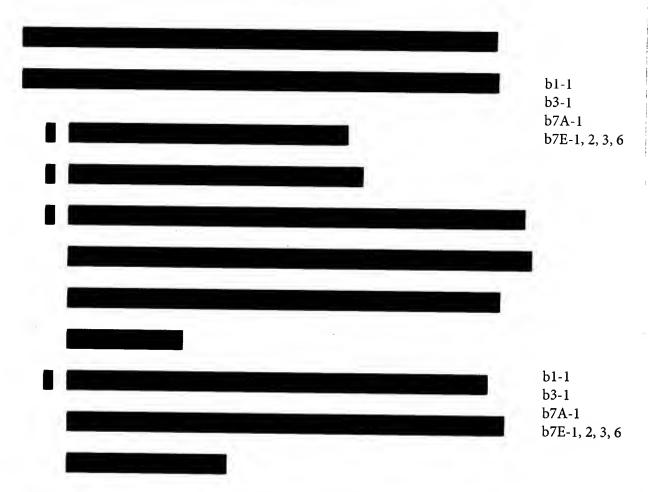


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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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## (U) VERIFICATION

(\$) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United

States Code, § 1746 on <u>06</u> 2017 b7A-1

Supportugary Spaggal Agont

Supervisory Special Agent Federal Bureau of Investigation

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b6-1 b7A-1 b7C-1

### (U) CERTIFICATION

(\$\square\$) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the

equested in this verified application targeting

requested in this vermed application targeting

b1-1

Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows: b3-1

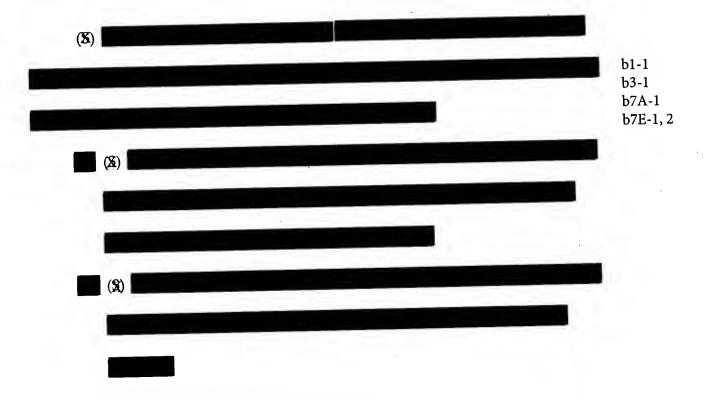
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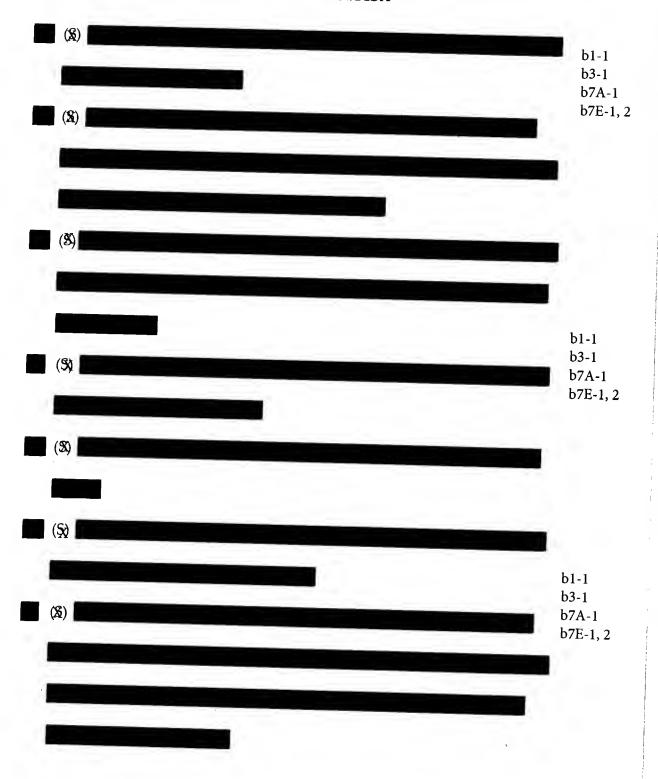
- (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is <u>not</u> to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b1-1 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. b1-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
- (D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

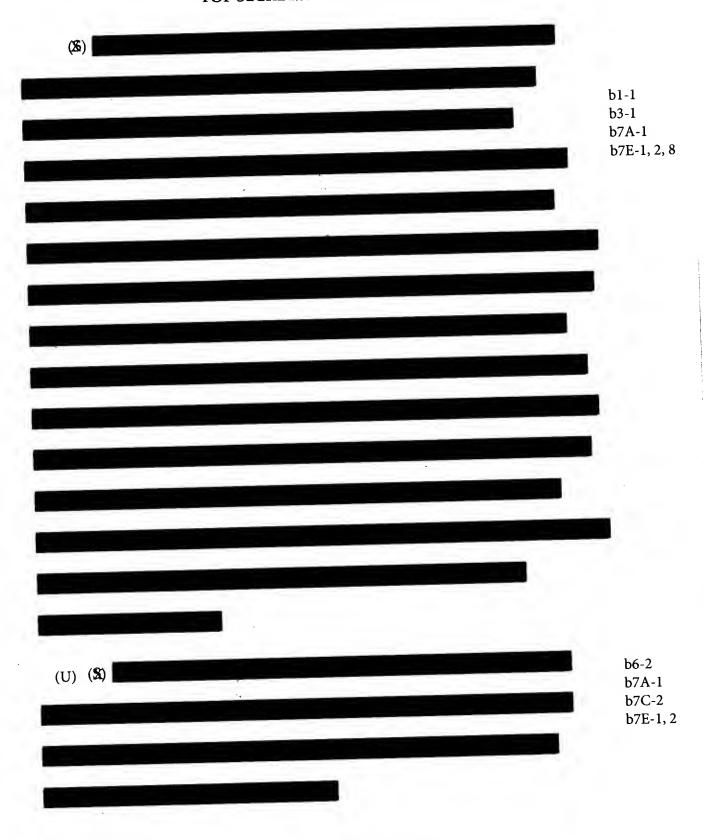
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

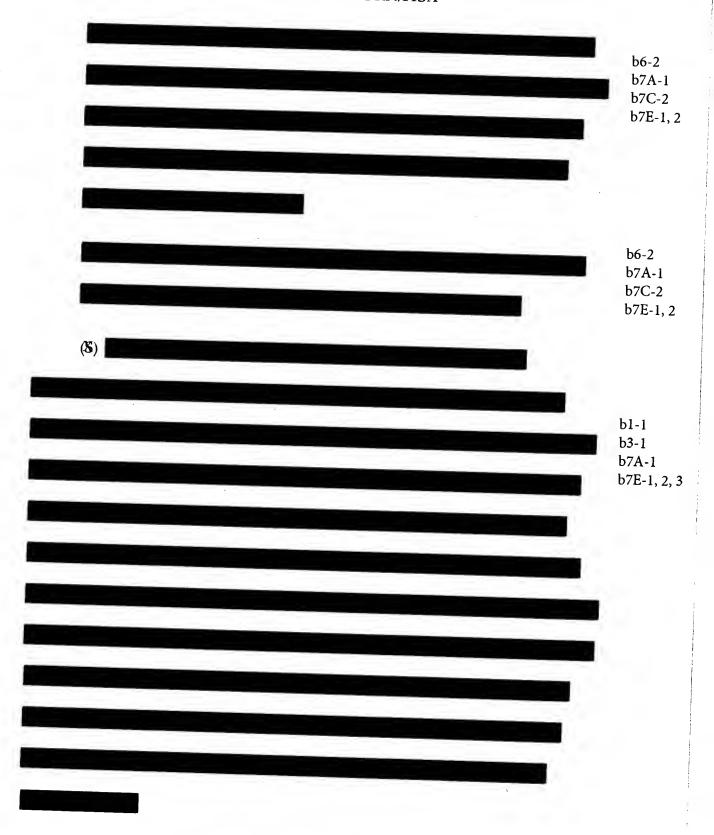
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b3-1 b7A-1 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

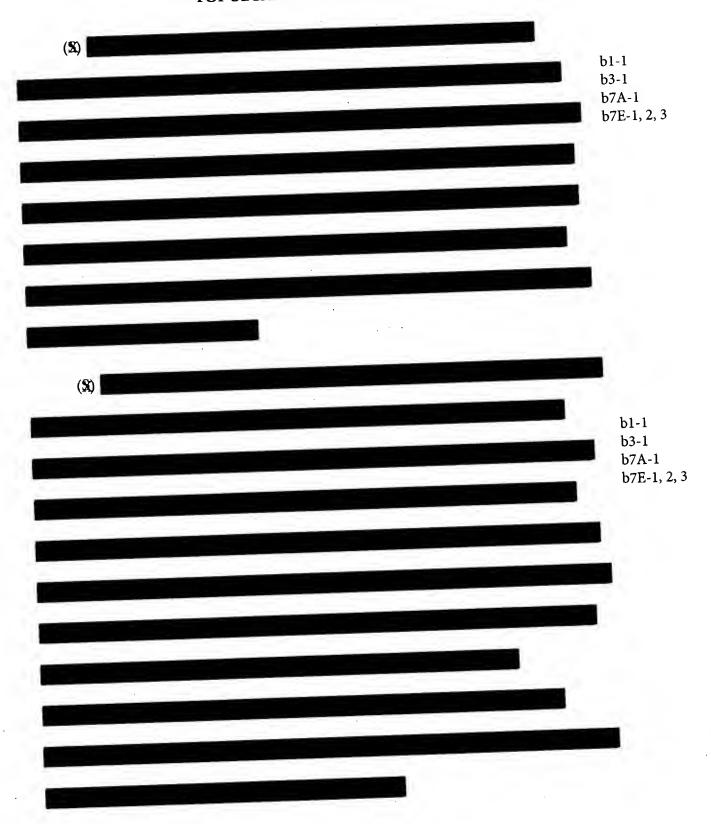


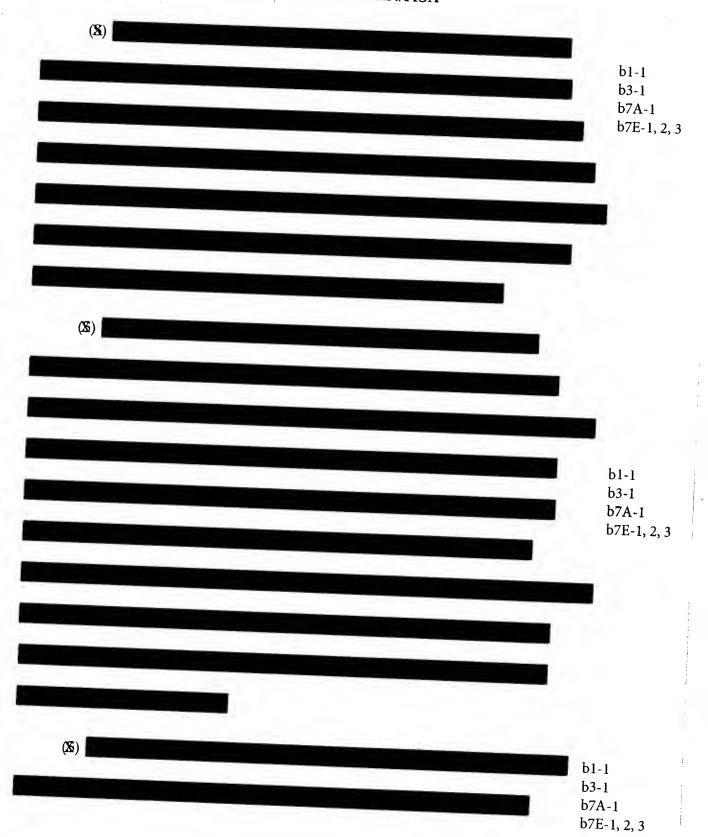
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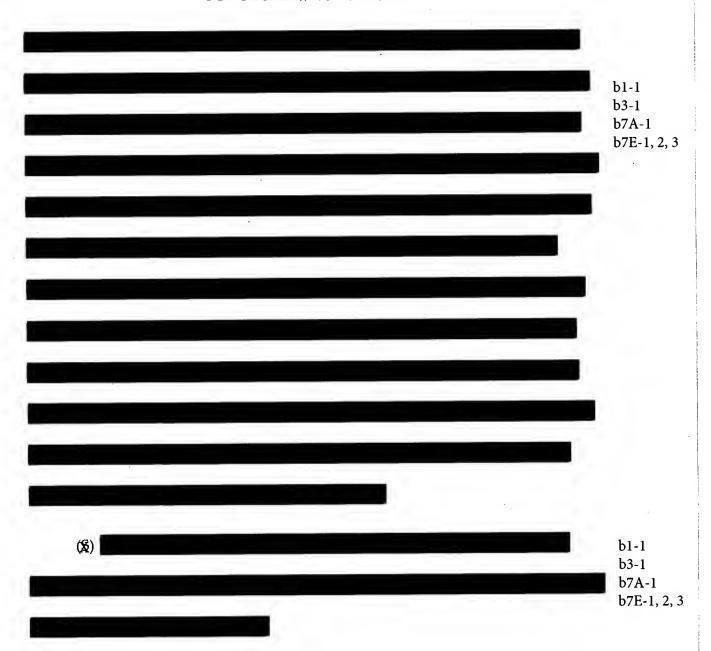












(U) (2) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

(X) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended.

	Rex Tillerson
Director	Secretary of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation	
111 11	
/ ////	
Andrew G. McCabe	John J. Sullivan
Deputy Director	Deputy Secretary of State
Federal Burcau of Investigation	
Michael Pompeo Director of the Central Intelligence Agency	James N. Mattis Secretary of Defense
Daniel R. Coats	H.R. McMaster
Director of National Intelligence	Assistant to the President for
	National Security Affairs
Principal Deputy Director of	<b>-</b>

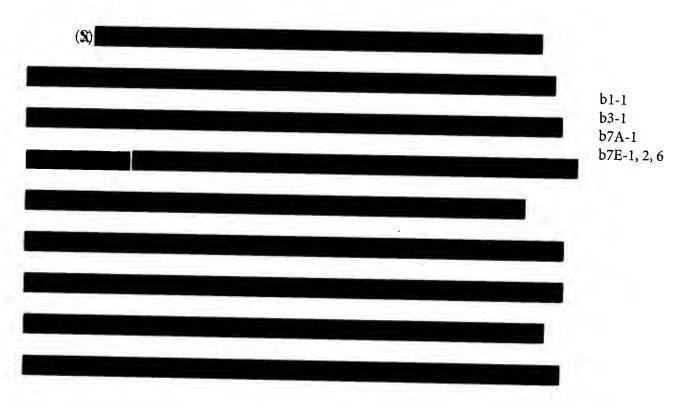
National Intelligence

06, 27/7 Date

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

# (U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



(\$) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

W. Page with the Court,

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1 b7E-1

Rod J. Rosensteiry

Deputy Attorney General of the United States

# TOP SECRETION OF TORNIFISA

WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



TOP SECRETANDEORN/FISA

United States Fereign Intelligence Surveillence Court

All Information is considered
unclassified except where
otherwise shown

### UNITED STATES

LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk of Court FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

Classify By: J23J98T32

b1-1

Reason: (C)

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b3-1

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated

b7A-1

-2017 Declassify On:

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

Docket Number:

b1-1

PERSON

b3-1 b7A-1

# PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50 FISA or the Act), for an order and warrant U.S.C. §§ and full (hereinafter "order") for consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds b1-1 b3-1 as follows: b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the Attorney General;



3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

### **SECRET**

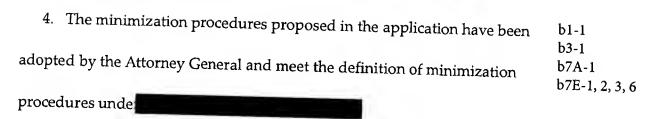
b1-1 Application to the USFISC Derived from: in Docket Number captioned above b3-1 b7A-1

Declassify on:

17-cv-597(FBI)-393

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1
b7E-1, 2



5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

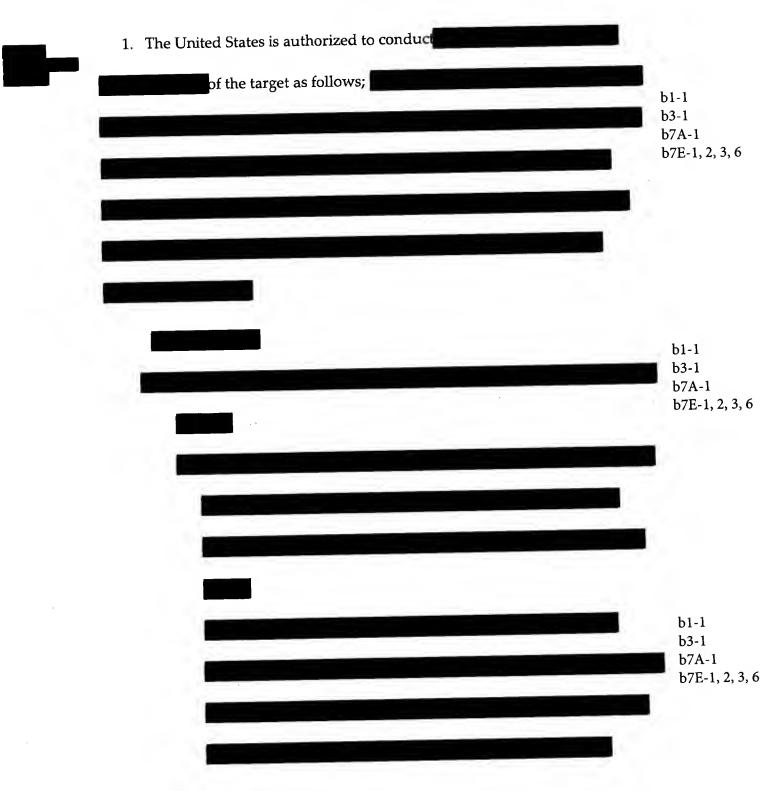
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b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

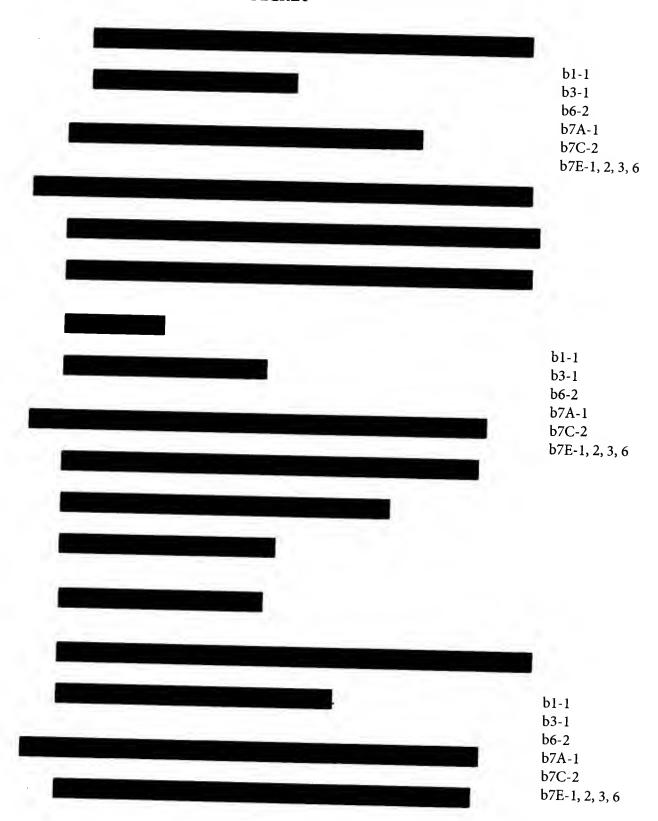
any other information furnished unde

WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

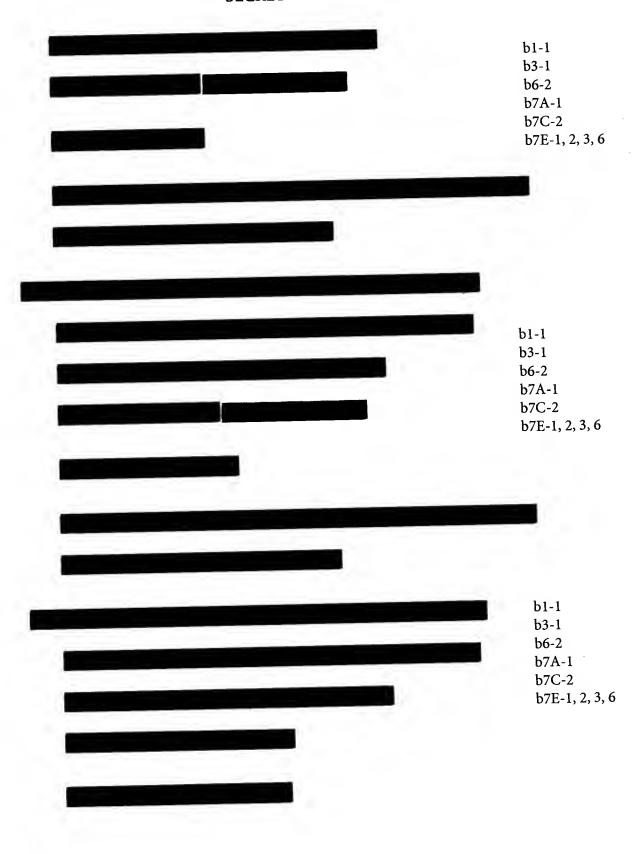
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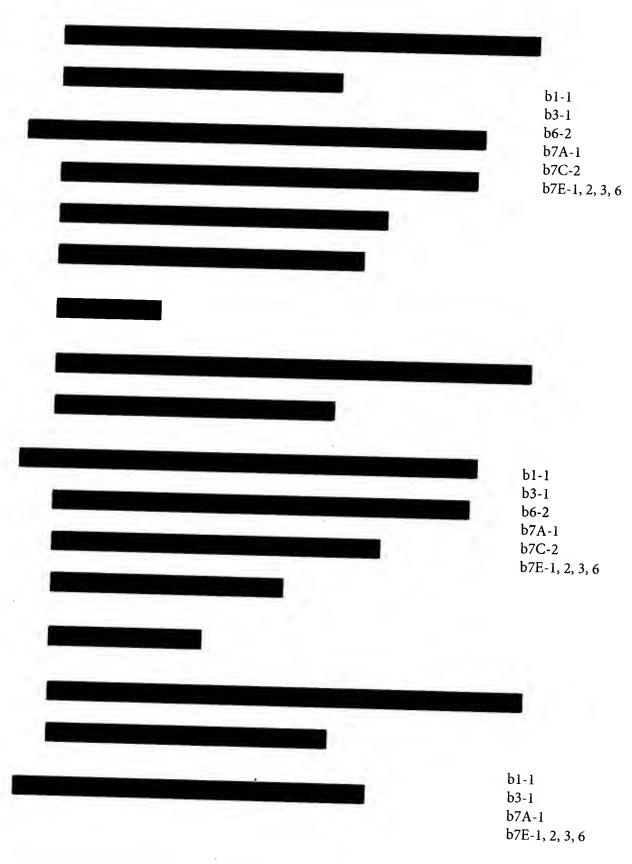


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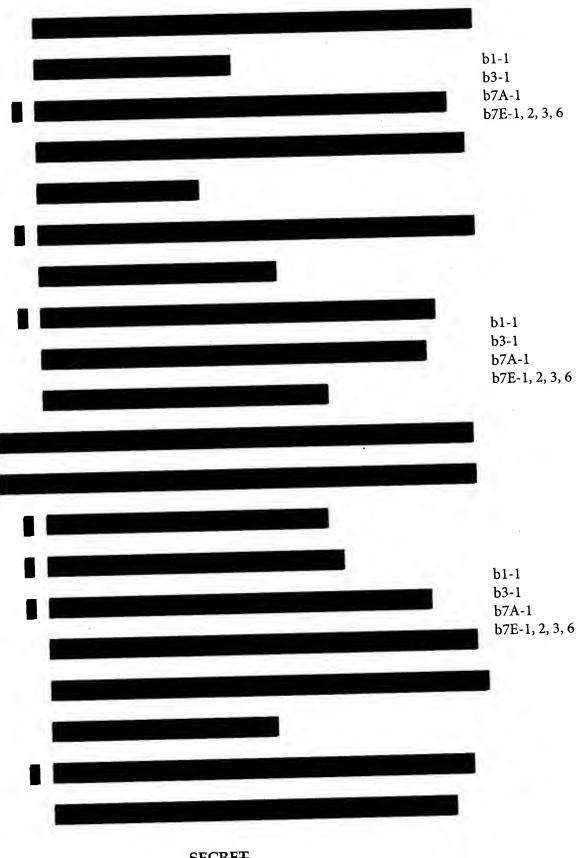


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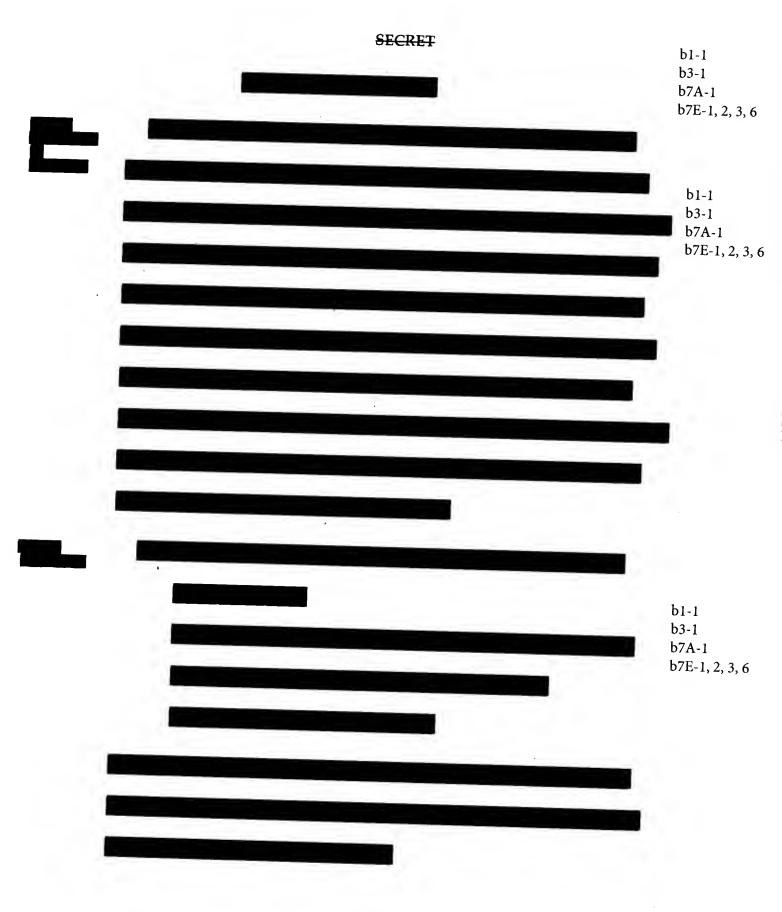




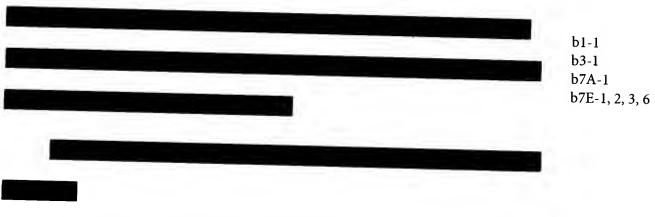


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6. The authorities approved are for the period indicated below unless otherwise ordered by this Court.

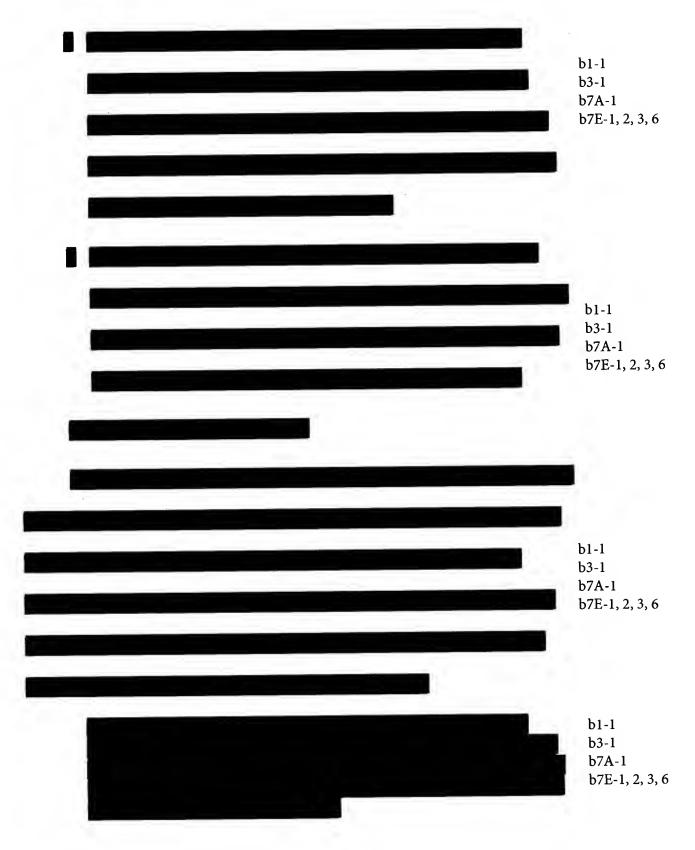
b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

> b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

As to all information acquired through the authorities approved herein,

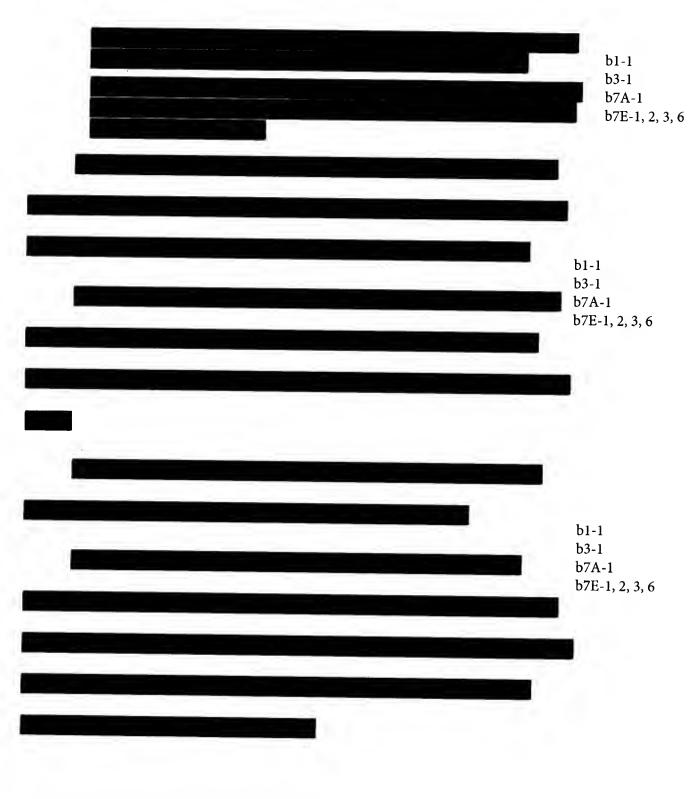
the FBI shall follow b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

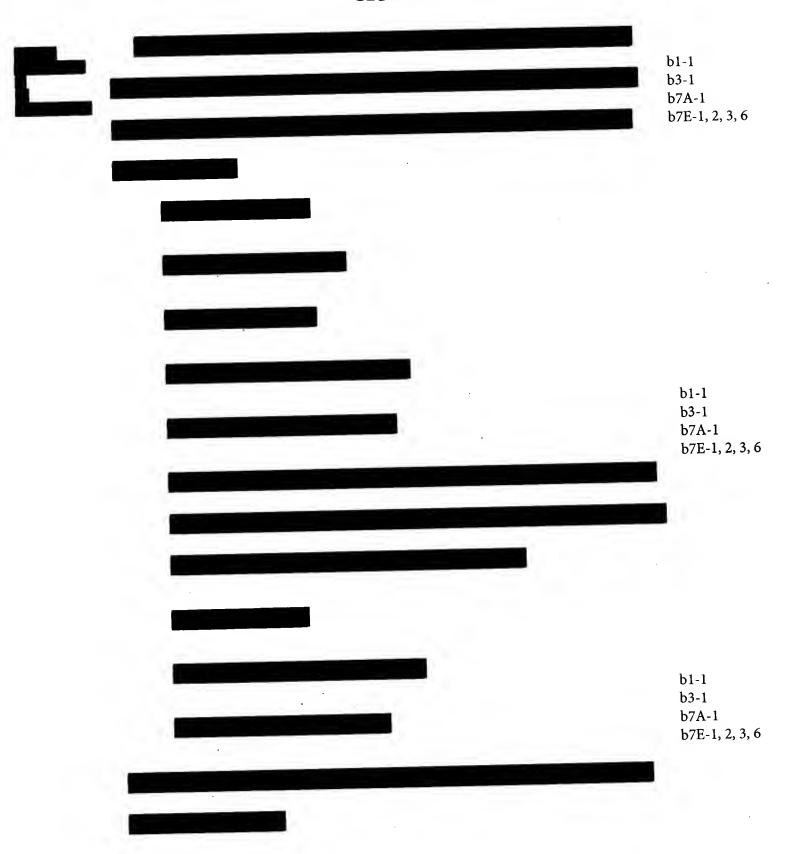




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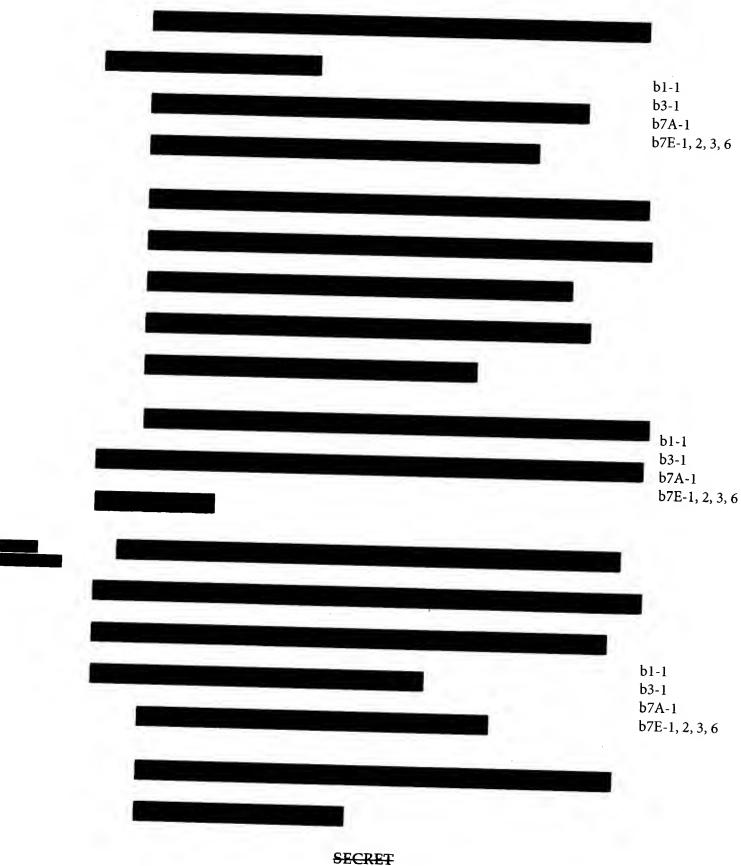


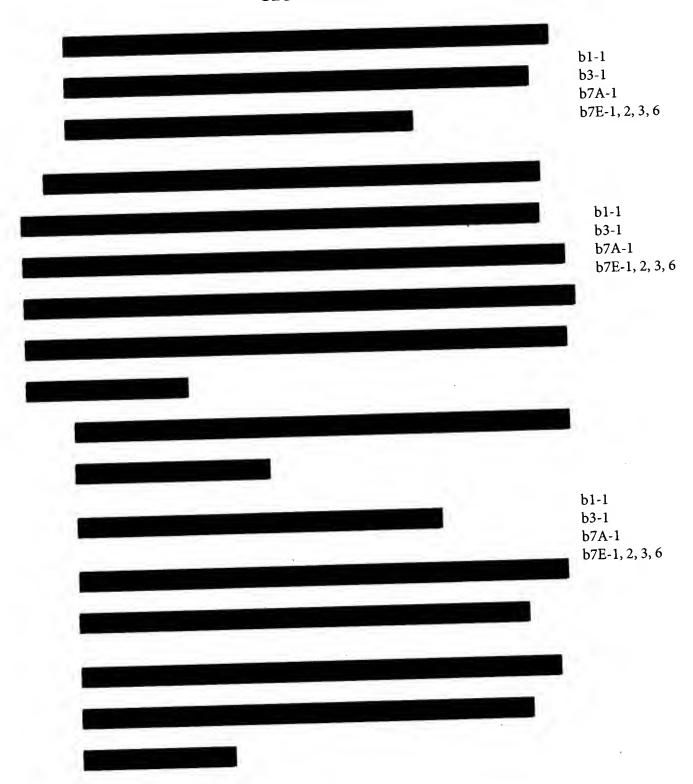




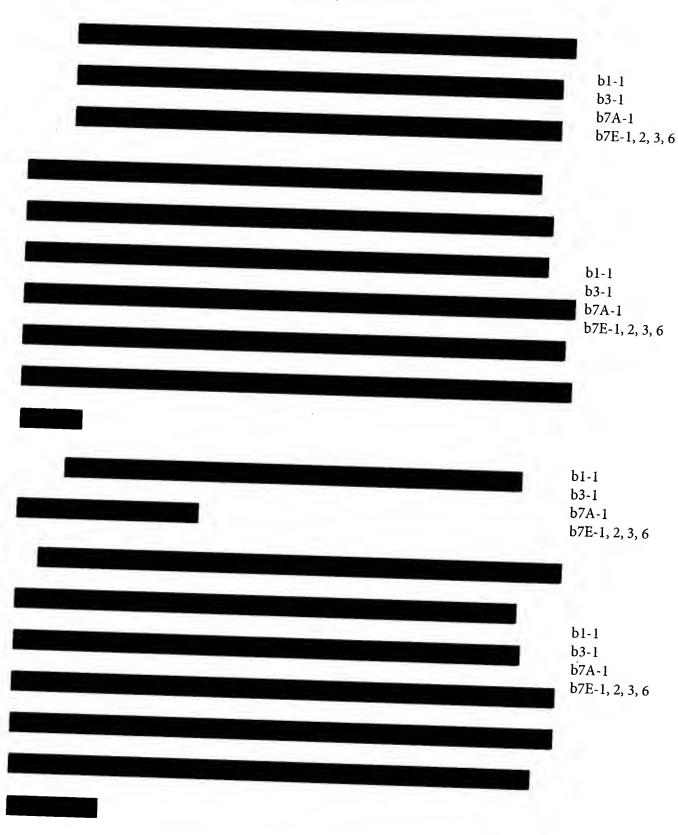
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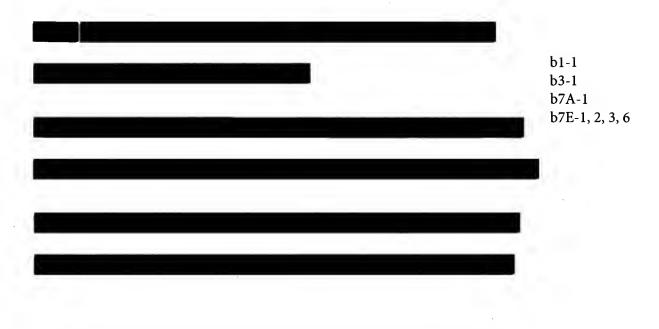












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This authoriza	tion regarding <b>Ca</b>	rter W. Page expires at	Eastern Tim	e
on the	day of S	eptember, 2017.		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed		-2017	Eastern Time	
	Date	Time		

RAYMOND J. DEARIE
Judge, United States Foreign
Intelligence Surveillance Court

FISC, certify that this copy of the is a true and correct copy of the origin

b6-3 b7A-1